THE

HISTORY

OF

FRANCE,

DURING THE REIGNS OF

FRANCIS II. and CHARLES IX.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A REVIEW of the GENERAL HISTORY of the MONARCHY, from its Origin to that Period:

COMPREHENDING

An Account of the various Revolutions, political Government, Laws and Cuſtoms of the Nation.

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OF
ENGLAND.

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Reign of CHARLES IX.

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THE armies of France, and of ſeveral other nations in Europe, began, from the time of Charle-Magne *, to be chiefly compoſed of cavalry. Their ſtrength conſiſted in the Gendarmerie, who were the gentlemen dreſſed in full armour on horſeback, each of them being followed by five attendants, pro-

Account of the antient Gens d'Armes of France;

* Henault, Abbrege chron. p. 84.

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vided with bows and other light arms. Regular and ſtanding bodies of them called the *Companies of Ordonnance*, were firſt formed by Charles VII. who alſo endeavoured to put the infantry upon a like eſtabliſhment. But the Frank archers, as they were called, being reduced by his ſucceſſor*; the foot continued, what they had been formerly, the rabble of the militia, without officers, without diſcipline, and with the abject names of the laqueys, the adventurers, and the ſtragglers. They rarely fought in a body ſeparate from the men at arms; who, on occaſions, were obliged to diſmount and perform the ſervice of infantry. Without being divided into companies, a detachment, amounting to two thouſand or more of them, was commanded by one captain. From the mountainous country of Switzerland, where the breed of horſes was ſmall and ſcanty, and the people robuſt and brave, for a conſiderable time the only uſeful bodies of foot were furniſhed; the hire and employment of them by neighbouring ſtates, tending to improve their valour and diſcipline to ſuch a degree, that they became famous over Europe. The kings of France truſted to the cantons for infantry; and though they experienced the advantage of them in the field, ſtill neglected to compoſe regular bodies of their own. When† Lewis XII became embroiled with the Swiſs, having no militia proper to oppoſe to their cloſe battalions, armed with pikes and large two handed ſwords, he tried to encounter them with the German foot ſoldiers called Lanſquenets, from the weapons they uſed. Before the reign of Francis I. there was no ſuch military commiſſion as that of colonel general of French infantry. His project for ranging the foot into legions of ſix thouſand men, proved too extenſive to be carried into execution; but with the

* Brantome ſur l'Infanterie, ibid. p. 303. † Brantome, ibid.

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and of the first establishment of a regiment of infantry.

new appointment of a colonel and a camp-master, they assumed the appearance of order, and began to be in better esteem. Yet there still were defects in their establishment, and no separate regiment of infantry was formed till the present reign, at the time of the pacification of Orleans *. The admiral Coligni and his brother, successively appointed colonels of foot by Henry II, had done more than all their predecessors, to reduce them to regularity. D'Andelot, who valued himself upon the reputation he had acquired in his post, laboured to promote the military discipline in the protestant army, and succeeded at first to admiration. The French infantry of which he took the charge submitted to it, the religion and sobriety of the young soldiers favouring his endeavours. From the efficacy of the exhortations of the ministers distributed among the corps †, oaths, brawls, and litigious games were banished, and the rigorous chastisement of theft and rapine rendered the camp an uncommon spectacle of order and decorum. But in the civil war there was no possibility of maintaining such discipline, or properly reforming the infantry; and it is observed, that at the assault of Baugency, which, contrary to the engagement, was held out against the prince of Condé, they began to give way to disorder and rapine. We may therefore conclude, that the catholicks who took care to pre-engage the Swiss in their service, had much the advantage in infantry, and that the comparative superiority which the prince is said to have had, arose from the greater number of French gentry which composed his cavalry, and had always sustained the military glory of the nation. In regular expeditions under their kings, the expence they incurred rendered long or distant service intolerable to them; and when this happened, they asked

The court has advantage of the protestants by engaging the Swiss foot in its service.

* Brantome de Monsr. de Chatillon. † Thuan. ibid. p. 607.

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leave, and were permitted to retire. In the civil war their appearance in the field, and their diſſipation, depending on their pleaſure, a plan of a campaign, or a connected ſeries of enterprizes could ſeldom be formed, and yet more rarely carried into execution. Being clad in armour, they fought chiefly with their lances, and reſerved their ſwords and piſtols to be uſed in ſome cloſe encounters with the enemy.

The proteſtants are unable to hold the towns;

The ſtrength of the proteſtants was much overſtretched by the haſty aſſault of the cities and towns, which, from their multitude and diſtance from each other, were ſoon found untenable by their forces. While the catholic army increaſed, and the foreign auxiliaries were expected, the channel of reinforcement to the proteſtant camp was ſtopped, by the diſperſion of the garriſons in the various places, which yet were generally too inconſiderable to defend them. Their enemies, ſenſible of the weak hold they had of many of them, while the prince of Condé retook and ſlighted Baugency,

July 11th.

proceeded, on the 11th of July, to make the firſt experiment of the reſiſtance to be expected from them, by the ſiege of Blois. Though ſtrengthened by a citadel, it ſcarce made the ſhew of defence. On the diſcharge of two cannons, which made a ſmall breach in one of the portals, the garriſon fled in a body by the bridge over the Loire, and the citizens demanded to capitulate *. Caſtelnau Mauviſſiere, the author of the memoirs, was employed in ſettling the terms of ſurrender. But neither the bloodleſs conqueſt, nor the compoſition, protected it from being plundered, and treated at the diſcretion of the ſoldiers, who being uncontrouled, ſatiated themſelves with rapine and cruelty. The catholic army,

* Memoires, liv. iii. chap. 11.

encouraged with this ſucceſs, marched down the Loire to Tours. This city, which is ſaid to have been the early receptacle of the proteſtants, and the place where they obtained the name of Hugonots, was diſtinguiſhed more remarkably by the noble ſtructure and the rich furniture of its antient churches †. Upon its being taken by the proteſtants, thoſe emblems of ſuperſtition had been rifled; and to prevent the utmoſt depredation, an inventory being made by order of the prince of Condé, of the precious decorations, and left in the hands of the prieſts, the bulk of them was conveyed to Orleans. The few proteſtant militia, conſiſting of no more than three companies of foot and two ſtandards of horſe, knowing the catholic townſmen breathed revenge, retired directly upon the reproach of the army, and left the city to capitulate. In their retreat towards Poictiers, though joined by their aſſociates in Chinnon and Chatellau, they were intercepted by the count de Villars, and forced to yield at diſcretion. Being diſarmed, many were killed by the peaſants, while two hundred of them, driven back to Tours, experienced the rage of the catholics, who having aſſaulted and ſhut them up in the church of the Virgin, threw numbers of them into the river. The eaſy reduction of thoſe cities ſhewed upon what footing they generally ſtood; and that thoſe who poſſeſſed them, being often as much afraid of an inſurrection from the catholics within, as of an attack from without, were ready to abandon them with the ſame precipitation with which they had been invaded. The prince of Condé, chuſing not to hazard a diſadvantageous combat for the ſake of ſo many undefenſible towns, reſigned them to their fate ‡. Several of his principal adherents were more inclined to viſit their native provinces, into which the

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many of which are ſoon recovered by the catholics.

† Thuan. ibid. 609.

‡ Thuan. ibid. 617.

war

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war had ſpread, than to be detained in watching the uncertain opportunity of engaging the enemy. That he might appear to have formed that reſolution, which he could not avoid, he determined to ſend ſeveral of the chieftains with detachments of troops into thoſe countries, whither they wiſhed to withdraw, and to retire himſelf with the remainder of the army to Orleans. In conſequence of this reſolution, the count of Rochefoucault was appointed to march into Angouleſme and Xaintonge, Soubiſe into the Lionnoiſe, de Duras into Guienne, Montgommery into Normandy, and the prince of Porcien into Champaigne; while Genlis, Bouchavanes, and the admiral, remained with the prince of Condé. It was at this time that Briquemaut was diſpatched to treat with the queen of England, and D'Andelot ſet out to procure ſuccours from Germany. It is alſo remarkable that ſeveral proteſtants, ſtill diſcovering that ſcrupulous judgment of their conduct, which on ſeveral occaſions had appeared, were diſguſted with thoſe new reſolutions to ſolicit foreign aid, and introduce the Engliſh into the kingdom. Morvilliers, the conductor of their party in Normandy, retired. In ſome places ſynods were held to ſatisfy them about the juſt grounds they had to take arms *. D'Aubigne, in his acrimonious manner, alledges there were too many of thoſe who made a conſcience of their cowardice.

While the prince of Condé finds it neceſſary to diſperſe his forces.

THE catholic chieftains now had it in their power to carry on their military operations to the utmoſt advantage. The provinces where their adverſaries were moſt formidable, had been already attended to by them. The duke of Aumale being diſpatched into Normandy; Montpenſier to Tourain; the count de Cruſſol into

* Liv. iii. chap. 6.

Languedoc;

Languedoc; the chevalier de Montre into Guienne and Gaſcony. The further reduction of the towns upon both ſides of the Loire, was continued without diſturbance, and with the greateſt facility. The ſame incapacity of oppoſition was ſtill found, and much the ſame inhumanities were perpetrated. The marſhal St. Andre having ſtretched with part of the rear of the army towards Poictiers, which was defended againſt de Villars and Richelieu; his firſt aſſault of the breach made in the wall was repelled with vigour. When the charge was about to be renewed, and the ſoldiers in garriſon prepared to man the breach, a cannon ſhot diſcharged from the caſtle proved the indication that Pincau the commander had ſuddenly changed ſides, and declared for the enemy. The running fight which continued for a little in the ſtreets, ſaved ſix hundred from being taken with the city*. The barbarous fury, luſt, and avidity of the catholic ſoldiers, let looſe for eight days by St. Andre, completed the ſcene of ravage and deſtruction. The city of Angers, on the oppoſite ſide of the Loire, had a few days before, undergone a ſimilar fate. There the caſtle, which was vaſtly ſtronger than thoſe of the other towns, remained in the power of a catholic officer. A correſpondence being managed with ſome of the citizens by the duke of Montpenſier, who was then in the neighbourhood, Puiguillard was introduced under night with ſome ſoldiers into the caſtle, and from thence into the town; where, upon the word given, the catholics roſe and overpowered the Hugonots, ſome of whom were cut in pieces, and others judicially puniſhed, while their houſes were given up for a prey to the victors. To indulge thoſe outrages, the plunder and profanation of the churches by the proteſtants, furniſhed the pretext. It is

In reducing the towns upon the Loire and other places,

cruelty is ſhewn by the catholicks;

* Thuan. lib. xxx. p. 620. Caſtel. liv. iii.

hardly

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who are provoked by the profanation of the churches by the Hugonots,

hardly to be conceived with what indignation and fury the catholics were generally tranſported, on account of the deſtruction of their images. The peculiar impreſſions of religious rage and wild antipathy it inſpired, had influence to baniſh all the ſenſations of humanity. The moſt hideous uſage of the Hugonots was thought the juſt recompence of this their ſacrilege and impiety; and as if ſuch inveterate enmity required an additional impulſe, the parliament of Paris interpoſed their authority to extend it among the people. Their * arret, which amounted to a general proſcription of the proteſtants, by permitting all the catholics in towns and villages to aſſemble in arms at the ringing of the bells, to purſue and deſtroy them, was tranſmitted to the curates of pariſhes to be read every ſunday in the churches. It may be well conſidered as a ſingular teſtimony of that inaptitude, often diſcovered in bodies of men intoxicated with every ſway of their authority however unſeaſonable, and fettered with the links of their own precedents, to decide with the ſpirit of wiſdom in critical affairs. Its effect to reſtrain the abuſes committed, was nothing compared to the enormities this arret occaſioned. Under the veil of religion, and the ſanction of the authority of the ſtate, people of all claſſes and characters launched forth into barbarity. Several of the more poliſhed, as well as the rude, of the men of honour, together with the profligates, many of the ſober, as well as the vicious, found their ſeveral motives and inducements to favour and engage in this ferocious perſecution. In the Vendomois, where the proteſtant ſoldiers had ravaged the altars, Ronſard, the diſciple of the muſes, who courted their inſpiration in the placid retirement of an eccleſiaſtic, covered his ſacred habit with armour, and marched out at the head of the

July 27th.

and inſtigated to vengeance againſt them by the arrets of the parliaments.

* D'Avila, liv. iii. Thuan. lib. xxix. p. 610. D'Aubigne, liv. iii. chap. 6.

nobility

nobility of this diſtrict, to revenge the inſults of the ſhrines of the ſaints. The clowns of Tourain, rouzed with the encouragement and example of licentious inſurrections, ruſhed together in different bands, into the towns of Liquiel on the Indre, Cormeri, Loches, and other villages; and marked their ſavage rout with cruelty and depredations. They made the moſt unobnoxious the victims of their fury; and after tearing out the eyes of a proteſtant miniſter, they burnt him at a ſlow fire. Thoſe barbarities were ſometimes retaliated. When the prieſts and monks of St. Carlais, taking advantage of the ſmall guard kept there by the proteſtants, rung their bells and cut them in pieces; de Coignee aſſaulted them on the retreat of their aſſociates, deſtroyed moſt of them, and hanged two of the ringleaders in the church, where the ſignal had been given at the veſpers. Such were the early eruptions of the horrid ſpirit of religious perſecution, foſtered in the times of peace; and that now anticipated the progreſſive violence of civil war.

THE catholic confederates, having atchieved the conqueſts of ſeveral of the towns and forts that from the weſt and ſouth communicated by the Loire with Orleans, determined to cut off its intercourſe with the Lionoiſe and the provinces in a different quarter. The reduction of Bourges was their particular aim. Elevated with their ſucceſsful progreſs, they were deſirous in ſetting out on this attempt, to make the utmoſt diſplay of all their civil authority. To aſcertain the title of their army to a better denomination than that of the Navarres and of the Guiſes, as their opponents ſtyled it, they prevailed with queen Catherine to bring the young king to the camp. Before they moved from the Bois de Vincennes, ſhe acquainted the prince of Condé by a meſſenger, that he ought now to take his final reſolutions for an accommodation, on the terms propoſed; when the king was ready to ſhew himſelf

After reducing various places, the catholics beſiege Bourges;

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along with her in the catholic army, and the foreign auxiliaries had entered the kingdom for his ſervice, and the parliament of Paris had come to the point of declaring his party guilty of high treaſon. The prince's reply to her was ſharp. He ſaid, that it could not be forgot by her, by whoſe order and intreaties he had raiſed his military force; when the triumvirate were diſpoſed to ſtrip her of all authority, and the ambaſſador of Spain joined them in this deſign; and that the whole world ſhould ſoon know, by the publication of the letters under her hand, to which of the confederacies the name of rebels to the ſtate could properly be aſſigned. Though in the parliament's judicial condemnation of his adherents, by a gradation of arrets, the prince was always perſonally excepted, under the feigned notion of his involuntary detention from the court; the partial compliment did not hinder him from proteſting in a formal writ, againſt the legality of the whole judgment. While the king of Navarre went to eſcort their majeſties to the

Aug. 12th. camp, the army under the conduct of the duke of Guiſe had moved to Bourges. Being joined by the Swiſs, it conſiſted of fifteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand cavalry. Henjeſt D'Ivoy *, brother to Genlis, commanded the garriſon of the city, which being reinforced by the prince of Condé, amounted to two thouſand infantry, part of which were old companies, and three troops of arquebuſſers. The defence was no leſs brave and vigorous than the attack. It was here that the catholics firſt encountered the trouble attending a ſiege. Frequent ſallies were made from the town; and when a conſiderable breach was opened in the wall, a rampart of earth raiſed in one night's time, ſurprized and baffled the aſſailants. Having made great conſumption of their ammunition, a convoy of artillery and military ſtores from Paris was

* Thuan. lib. xxx. p. 620. D'Aubigne, ibid. chap. 10.

expected; for the conduct of which the duke of Guiſe had detached four troops of horſe and ſix companies of infantry. The admiral Coligni having intelligence of its advancement, marched in the night from Orleans, and fell upon it near Chateaudun. Having ſoon routed the troops, he became maſter of the whole waggons and carriages. The artillery horſes having eſcaped at the firſt charge; the heavy pieces, which could not be carried off, were demoliſhed. Among others, Throgmorton the Engliſh ambaſſador was taken priſoner, on his way to the camp, and conducted to Orleans; where the prince of Condé treated him with the higheſt civilities. Mean while, the duke of Guiſe began to induce Ivoy, by promiſes and the offer of the moſt honourable terms, to ſurrender. Having no information of the defeat of the convoy, and irritated with the affront which the officers of the garriſon had formerly given him, he liſtened too eaſily to the propoſals. By obtaining a moſt preciſe and formal capitulation, for the ſafety and free exit of himſelf and the troops, and even for liberty of conſcience to the proteſtants in the town, he thought to obviate reflections againſt his honour. But neither this precaution, nor the more political gloſs of his obligation to ſerve the prince of Condé, as authoriſed by the king, availed to ſcreen his conduct from the general reproach of the military gentlemen. Upon preſenting himſelf at Orleans, to aſk a releaſe from his engagement, he was refuſed admittance to the prince; and inſtead of finding it convenient to betake himſelf to the catholic army, he endeavoured to hide his diſgrace by a private retreat. Thus, when there appeared a groſs violation of the principles of religion and the dictates of humanity between the adverſe parties, the adherence to the martial rules of honour was ſtill kept in eſtimation. With reſpect to deſertion from one ſide to another, the continuation of the civil war relaxed, in a great meaſure, the maxim of honour.

which Ivoy is ſoon induced to ſurrender;

but ſuffers in his military reputation.

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When the catholic confederates had thus added the reduction of Bourges to that of the other towns from whence Orleans might be ſupported, the capital undertaking of the ſiege of that city ſeemed to many, in point of expediency, preferable to all others, and not diſproportioned to their military ſtrength. But the opinions in the council of war were divided upon this head. It was argued on the one ſide, that Orleans being the main fortreſs of the adverſe party, and their arſenal of war, occupied by the body of their gentry, and their two principal chieftains, a ſucceſsful blow directed againſt it, would at once cruſh the root of oppoſition; and that from preſent circumſtances it appeared liable to ſuch a deciſive ſtroke, from the diſaſters that had befallen the cities around it, from the diſperſion of many of the leaders, and from the preſent incomplete condition of its fortifications. It was known from the computation of their troops, compared with the extent of the bulwarks of the place, that they were ſufficient to environ and aſſault the whole. It was added, that the ſiege of Orleans would not only ſtrike the proteſtants in the provinces with terror, but diſturb the rout, and perhaps cauſe the deſertion of their German auxiliaries, who would not be forward to expoſe themſelves by ſupporting a party which would appear reduced to extremity. On the other hand it was alledged, that the military force of Orleans, which could not be computed at leſs than ſeven thouſand good troops, would prove equal to the half of the beſieging army, and though they might receive ſome reinforcements, that their want of many of the materials neceſſary for a regular ſiege, rendered it an unſeaſonable and dangerous enterprize; that it became them rather to turn their thoughts upon Normandy, in the ports of which the Engliſh were ready to land their troops; that the ſituation of that province ſo expoſed, and in a great meaſure overrun

The catholics deliberate whether to beſiege Orleans,

or to march into Normandy and form the ſiege of Rouen.

by

by the proteſtants, required immediate relief; and that Paris itſelf ſuffering by the enemy being maſters of Rouen, the reduction of this important place ought to be attempted before the ſiege of Orleans. This reſolution was agreed to as the moſt eligible, and the army was ordered, in the beginning of September, to be put in motion for the expedition to Normandy. Book IV. 1562. Sept. 1ſt.

Before the principal armies of the oppoſite confederacies were muſtered in the field, moſt of the provinces in France were thrown into convulſions, and the cities and towns every where were harraſſed with various ferments of civil diſcord. Beſides Normandy, the provinces moſt embroiled with the feuds and hoſtilities were thoſe of Burgundy, Poictou, Xaintonge, Languedoc, Guienne, Dauphiny, and Provence. Through theſe large quarters of the kingdom, the reciprocal contentions, the aſſaults, the conſpiracies, the counterplots, and the revenge of the parties ſeldom ceaſed. The numberleſs and continual conflicts and incurſions ſurpaſſed the ravage of the large armies, and created greater diſtreſſes. The undeciſive actions of hoſtility ſtill renewed, waſted theſe countries like a ſlow conſuming fire. The long feſtering diſorders incident to the remoter provinces, that in the times of profound peace could not be aboliſhed, and which had been increaſed in the late reign, now produced all their violent effects. The imperfect knowledge the courtiers had of the real ſtate of the parties, the ſuſpicions entertained of ſome of the governors, the improper or unſeaſonable change of them, or the ſubſtitution of the officers of the army in their room, weakened, and often diſappointed the efforts that were at firſt uſed to quell or ſuppreſs the inſurrections. The arbitrary or injudicious attempts of invalid power, to inforce immediate obedience to the edicts about religion, in thoſe more independent

The wars waged in the provinces,

Book IV. 1562. exceed the ferocity and ravages of the main armies.

regions, ſpread wide the combuſtion of war, and rendered the conduct of it an irregular and vague courſe of expeditions, undertaken and puſhed on at the diſcretion and will of officers and commanders, void of humanity and juſt rules of procedure. In ſome of the provinces, where by a compoſition with the proteſtants, diſſentions were quieted, the ſanguinary zeal and turbulence of private adventurers being encouraged, their muſters of banditti were ſufficient to rekindle ſedition, and authorize the projects of violence and barbarity *. This ſeems to have been the caſe in Provence, where Sommerive received a commiſſion to act as the king's lieutenant, in oppoſition to his father the count de Tende who was the governor. He ſought and obtained the unnatural glory of vanquiſhing and expelling him. He had alſo that of preſiding with Serbellon, who commanded the pope's levies from Italy, and with the count de Suze, at the ſhocking example of butchery, obſcene violence, and ſtudied cruelty, at the taking of the town of Orange; which was conſidered by the provincial warriors, on the proteſtant ſide, as a legitimate apology for all their atrocious actions. Among theſe the moſt conſpicuous were Montbrun, Mouvans, de Duras, and the baron des Adrets. Like others of the oppoſite party, the ſamples of the war-proof veterans, trained up in the expeditions of Francis I. and Henry II.; they ſtood impatient to begin the civil broils. In nothing more did the pernicious conſequence of the tedious wars waged by thoſe monarchs appear, than by producing numbers of ſuch chieftains. Arms their ſole trade and profeſſion, they not only loathed peace, but the ſoldiers licenſed fierceneſs adhering to them, rendered their habits, and even the virtues of their characters ferocious. There are par-

* Thuan. lib. xxx. p. 636.

ticular

ticular exploits performed by ſome of thoſe cruſty heroes of the age, which one reads with ſurprize and ſatisfaction; but many more that are peruſed with diſguſt and horror *. When we find at the ſiege of Syſteron, that Mouvans and de Senas not only defended againſt Sommerive this only place they held in Provence to the utmoſt extremity, but choſe, with the remainder of their garriſon, to run the laſt hazards from the enemy, rather than diſcharge themſelves from the protection of a large multitude of women and children, and the infirm of both ſexes, the forlorn exiles of various towns, we are wonderfully ſtruck with the variation of the ſcene, and of the conduct of the actors. Having fought for ſeven hours in the breach of the wall, a hundred and forty paces wide, hand to hand with the enemy, the laſt night of deſpair came. They employed it in collecting together the defenceleſs objects of commiſeration, and formed the reſolution of conducting them out of the reach of their engaged foes through a country full of difficult paſſes, and every where beſet with troops of the enemy. Four thouſand in number, and hardly one fourth of them capable of bearing arms, they began their perilous expedition, and while ſome hoſtile cavalry hung upon their rear, continued their diſtreſsful march before they ventured to halt. At every new movement they had either enemies to face, ambuſhes to ſhun, rivers to paſs, or famine to ſuſtain. The tedious dangers appeared inſupportable; and the commanders, finding they had only advanced twelves leagues from Syſteron in twenty days, thought of abandoning their unhappy wards. They reſumed the laſt efforts of magnanimity, and ſucceeded in carrying them with inconſiderable loſs to Grenoble, the capital of Dauphiny; which,

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Remarkable behaviour of Mouvano and de Senas, two proteſtant chiefs.

* Thuan. lib. xxx. p. 638. D'Aubigne, ibid. chap. 8.

to

BOOK IV. 1562. to the aſtoniſhment of the inhabitants, who heard of their expulſion from Provence, they entered ſinging their pſalms aloud, in pious teſtimony of their providential retreat. They were eſcorted from thence to Lions, and received by Soubize with the utmoſt humanity he could ſhew them. This appears to be the only part of the campaign carried on in Provence by de Suze and Sommerive worthy of record; in the courſe of which, without reckoning their battles, they were computed to have put to death ſeven hundred and ſeventy men, four hundred and ſixty women, and twenty-four children.

The barons de Monluc and des Adrets ſurpaſs the other provincial chiefs in cruelty.

AMONG the war-ſcared partizans, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the provincial combats, the two moſt famous perſonages were Blæze de Monluc and the baron des Adrets. To give the ſketch of their actions and characters, may prove the beſt illuſtration of the general obſervations already made, and be ſufficient to complete all that is neceſſary to be ſaid with reſpect to the various atchievements of the oppoſite factions in the ſouthern provinces. Bred up at the ſame ſchool with the Piedmonteze wars, of equal birth, and their narrow fortunes much the ſame, they had been wholly ingroſſed with battles and the camp, and were ranked with the valiant and able captains of the army. De Monluc with ſome elements of literary education, in appearance more qualified and better connected for preferment, by means of his brother the biſhop of Valence, retained his rank in the army; while des Adrets repulſed, as it is ſaid, in ſome application he made to the duke of Guiſe for employment, about the time of the conſpiracy of Amboiſe, was obliged to languiſh out his inactive days in the diſtant receſſes of Dauphiny. The tumults about the religious aſſemblies of the proteſtants in Guienne being attended with conſiderable

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siderable bloodshed at Albi, and the slaughter of Fumel a catholic man of quality in that country, and the court having determined to punish the actors in those violences *, De Monluc was nominated to superintend the trials, and to prompt Burie, the king of Navarre's lieutenant in the province, to act rigorously against the offenders. Preventing the procedure of the judges, he assumed the cognizance of Fumel's murder, and composing a court of his own, he hanged and broke on the wheel about forty people. Followed, as in the camp, with executioners whom he called his lacqueys, he seized and dispatched several others without a form of impeachment; and when the regular judges came to rehearse before him their sentence about the massacre at Albi, in which near fifty protestants were destroyed, he drew his sword and drove them with menaces from his presence. Having performed other like feats of arbitrary cruelty in Guienne, he was ordered to proceed to Languedoc, and suppress the tumults of Thoulouse. Before he arrived, the ferment of them had subsided; but he boasts in his commentaries, that what with his martial exploits in the country, and what with his subsequent examples of vengeance in the city, he outdid the services of the catholic officers engaged in the heat of action. Other atchievements than those, indeed, which he still relates in his native style of a Gascoon, shewed the military capacity of the old warrior of Italy, and the strenuous defender of Sienna. The action at Targon, and the conquest of the towns of Tarube and Leitoure, and which was the decisive blow to his opponents, the victory at Ver, gave Monluc some title to ascribe the reduction of Guienne to his martial prowess. By the defeat of de Duras in that last battle, the prince of Condé lost a reinforcement of six

Character and exploits of the former,

* Thuan. lib. xxxi. p. 649.

Book IV. 1562. thouſand men. Monluc's priſoners in the field experienced his inhumanity, as well as the pannels of his tribunals.

and of the latter; AWAKED at the firſt noiſe of the public conteſts, the baron des Adrets put himſelf at the head of a part of the gentry of Dauphiny; who, with ſome citizens of Valence, conſpired againſt Gondrin the lieutenant of the province under the duke of Guiſe, and revenged their hatred of his ſeverities by his death. While the queen mother leaned to the proteſtant party *, oppoſition to the power of their antagoniſts was, in inſtances of this kind, ſecretly connived at by her. Des Adrets, who read her procedure only by one light, is ſaid to have wrote her majeſty, that he would march forthwith to Paris, and venture his blood in her defence. He was thought an exotic veteran, who wearied for employment. But when the townſmen of Lions declared for the proteſtants, the baron was elected their chief. His authority was confirmed by the prince of Condé, and having ſoon enliſted numbers of gentry and common people under his ſtandard, he appeared with a conſiderable army under his command. His very menaces terrified the city of Grenoble, which ejected its catholic partizans, and deſtroyed the altars and images of the churches. All the other towns of Dauphiny, except Ambrun and Briançon, followed this example. His name, already terrible, every day became more dreadful by his actions. He avowed the right of his party to repriſals, for the execrable cruelties committed at Orange, for the breach of capitulations, and the tranſgreſſion of all the rules of war. Preſenting a countenance, like that of the Roman dictator Sylla deſcribed in hiſtory, overcaſt with the horrible colour of dark clay mingled

* Thuan. lib. xxx. p. 628. D'Aubigne, liv. iii. chap. 7.

with blood, and his natural ferocity equalling his ſtern aſpect; there were none, who knew or had heard of Des Adrets, that doubted he would execute all his comminations. Audacious in enterpriſe, and following cloſe the terror of his firſt victories, he aſſaulted and took the town and caſtle of Pierrelate, ſtormed Bourg, and obliged the town of Pont St. Eſprit to throw open its gates to him, and made himſelf maſter of Boulenes. In almoſt every one of theſe places, having entered into no parleys, the garriſons were put to the ſword by him without quarter, and many of the ſoldiers hanged on the walls, or thrown headlong from the top of the rocks. Avignon trembled for his approach; but he turned back to Grenoble, which had made a treaty with Maugiron the catholic lieutenant of the province. Though it ſurrendered at diſcretion, he for once ſhewed mercy. Abſolute as he was tremendous in his army, he lodged ſix thouſand troops in the city and ſuburbs, without any of the people having cauſe to complain of their violence; and boaſted that he could turn them into lions or ſheep at his pleaſure. When Monbrizon was taken, and the caſtle capitulated, he drenched the ſtreets with blood, and precipitated, or made ſeveral ſoldiers, along with the governor Moncelaſs, toſs themſelves from the ſummit of the tower. His officers remonſtrated againſt thoſe cruelties, but could not prevent them. It is reported that one of the unfortunate captives, in taking his ſwing or vault, having once and again ſhrunk back from the dreadful brink, Des Adrets ſaid to him in a chiding tone, "What muſt you take twice the time to do it?" "I will allow you, replied the ſoldier, to make ten trials, if you will now perform this ſame leap." The unexpected anſwer forced a grin from the baron, and ſaved his ſingle life. The aſſiſtance he gave to the proteſtant commanders in Provence, by the defeat of a conſiderable body of the

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count de Suz's forces at Vaurias, the reduction of numbers of forts and caſtles upon the Rhone, and a variety of other enterprizes, rendered the baron's military ſervices as important as thoſe of Monluc, and his renown in arms more remarkable *. But, notwithſtanding both thoſe champions were feared, as ſcourges in the countries where they waged war, and are reckoned to have ſtrove which of them ſhould exceed the other in cruelty, the barbarity of the civil broils was ſufficient not only to exempt them from military diſgrace, but in a great meaſure, to palliate the enormity of their actions. It is true that the baron's outrageous behaviour ſoon appeared inſupportable to his party, and occaſioned his receiving diſobligations that induced him to revolt from it; while his rival, encouraged to diſplay a character almoſt as odious, and to plead the value of his atchievements, was advanced to be colonel of French infantry, and afterwards to the office of a marſhal of France. This contrariety in their fortunes aroſe from their different circumſtances, and not from any material diſtinction that could be made in the merit of their characters. It was ſaid and believed among the courtiers, that if Des Adrets had exerted his proweſs on the ſame ſide, he might have attained a marſhal's rank as well as the other. The baron perceiving that the prince of Condé, inſtead of applauding him, had transferred to Soubize the chief command in Lions, and that his reputation with his party declined, took occaſion to intimate his diſcontent to the duke of Nemours. The utmoſt endeavours to gain him were immediately uſed by that nobleman, who engaged to procure him the moſt honourable employment in the king's ſervice; or in caſe he choſe to retire, the gratuity of a hundred thouſand crowns †. His party

who were compared together,

and vied with each other in barbarity.

* Brantome de Monluc, tom. ii.

† Addit. aux Caſtel. liv. iv. Thuan. lib. xxxii. p. 674.

would

would now have been content to have retained him upon his own terms; but having liſtened to a treaty with Nemours, he began to withhold his aſſiſtance, and at length to ſuffer himſelf to be drawn into an accommodation. In the courſe of it Des Adrets diſcovered ſo much ſimplicity and irreſolution, that it was evident he acted from indignation, and not from intereſted motives. While he ſpun out the treaty, and thought to engage the proteſtant nobility of the province to enter into it, he was ſurprized and taken priſoner by Montbrun and Mouvans, and kept in cuſtody till the termination of the firſt civil war. Lions, in vain beſieged by Nemours, remained in the power of the proteſtants; and D'Acier count of Cruſſol preſerved their footing in Languedoc. In this manner were the provinces laid waſte by the moſt barbarous war, in which a regard to capitulations, and to humanity, was often no more obſerved than among the ſavage nations.

THE province of Normandy, whither the grand army of the catholic confederates now advanced, had been embroiled by the contention of three factions for the ſuperiority; one being headed by the duke of Bouillon, who was inclined to favour the proteſtants, without renouncing his connexions with the court. Another by Matignon the king's lieutenant in low Normandy, who was employed in ſupporting the duke of Aumale, appointed to ſupercede Bouillon in his government; and a third, which was the greateſt, conſiſting of the prince of Condé's partizans, and the determined proteſtants guided by the count of Montgomery. Before Morvilliers reſigned his command of Rouen, a ſiege of that city had been attempted by the duke of Aumale, whoſe forces were inſufficient for the undertaking. Matignon being obliged to

The catholic army having advanced into Normandy,

retire

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retire to Cherbourg, applied to the duke of Eſtampes and Martigues in Britanny for their aſſiſtance, and obtained it. We may imagine the condition of the one half of Normandy, expoſed to the excurſions of Montgomery, and infeſted by the enterprizes of three ſmall armies. The parliament of Rouen having retreated to Louviers, in imitation of that of Paris, publiſhed its decrees for condemning and confiſcating all the Hugonots that could be ſeized, which created a particular ſcene of animoſity and cruel repriſal betwixt the people of Rouen and thoſe of Louviers. It was by ſuch procedure as this, at Thoulouſe and other cities, that the miniſters of juſtice lent their ſanction to the havock and barbarity committed by the officers of the army; and, under the pretext of eſtabliſhing their general principles of civil authority, ſubverted thoſe of humanity itſelf. The chiefs of the court party ſaw * the miſerable tendency of this, and Caſtelnau Mauviſviſſiere was ſent to Louviers to deſire the counſellors of law to deſiſt from their violence. The forts and poſts of the neighbourhood of Rouen had been ſeveral times taken, and re-taken by the oppoſite combatants. Thoſe of Oire and St. Lo, and of Caudebec, Quillebeuf, and Harfleur upon the Siene, which were the moſt important, after the arrival of d'Eſtampes, had ſurrendered to the catholics. Mean while all practicable meaſures for the defence of Rouen had been taken by Montgomery. The additional fortifications, begun by Morvilliers, were completed. The city being inacceſſible from the ſouth, from its ſituation on the Siene, and inviroued by a range of hills on the oppoſite quarter, its principal outworks conſiſted in a large fort, built on the higheſt of thoſe eminencies, called St. Catherine's †. Montgomery had contrived to ſtrengthen

* Memoires de Caſtel. liv. iii. chap. 12.

† D'Avila, liv. iii.

this

this fortreſs, and improve its uſefulneſs, by forming on the aſcent of the hill a ſtrong entrenchment of earth, in the figure of a demi-turre, which barred the acceſs to St. Catherine's Mount, and ſerved for a battery to ſweep the lower grounds. The ſuburbs of St. Hilary was alſo fortified. The garriſon was compoſed of eight hundred infantry, picked from the oldeſt bands, and two or three troops of horſe, beſides many volunteers, with the body of the the townſmen, enrolled for ſervice; and a conſiderable number of the * Engliſh, who came from Havre de Grace, as the forerunners of the debarkation of their forces. The catholic army, joined by the German ſtipendiaries, amounted to more than twenty thouſand foot, and five thouſand cavalry. Being attended by the king and queen regent, it appeared in ſight of Rouen on the twenty-ſixth of September; and next day the city was ſummoned to ſurrender.

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the ſiege of Rouen is commenced; Sept. 26.

THE ſiege began with the blockade of Fort St. Catherine. The deep winding path way leading to Paris, ſerved to cover the approach of the aſſailants, and enabled them to open their trenches at a ſmall diſtance. Their firſt attacks were repelled with conſiderable ſlaughter. Moneins, the commander of the fort, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour and activity. His frequent ſallies fatigued the beſiegers, to whom the rainy ſeaſon in autumn proved an inconvenience and obſtruction. The trial of an attack on the ſuburbs of St. Hilary, and the return to the battering the entrenchments below St. Catherine's Fort, coſt the lives of many ſoldiers and officers on both ſides, without any impreſſion being made on the defenſive works. Though the beſiegers had ſunk ſeveral ſmall veſſels in the river, faſtened together with chains, a ſloop from Havre, with the advantage of the tide, drove through thoſe impe-

* Thuan. lib. xxxii. p. 665.

diments

Book IV. 1562. diments with ſmall loſs, and arrived at Rouen, loaded with artillery and ammunition. The ſiege grew every day more tedious and difficult; when the diſcovery of a piece of negligence in the ordinary guard of Fort St. Catherine enabled the beſiegers to make themſelves maſters of it at one aſſault. It was obſerved, that about noon the ramparts were generally thinned of ſoldiers; and the inadvertent confeſſion of the reaſon of this, by a captain who was made priſoner, or his intended treachery, pointed out the advantage that might be taken of it. As the intelligence was, that by the liberty allowed the ſoldiers to ſtraggle about mid-day into the city to buy proviſions, or recreate themſelves, the fort was commonly left with a ſmall number of men to defend it; a general attack was concerted, and the execution of it appointed at that hour. The ſucceſs ſurpaſſed expectation; the fort and the entrenchments were carried, by the help of ſcaling ladders, with little reſiſtance, and a body of three hundred men, who came from the town, were cut in pieces, and Moneins hardly eſcaped with his life.

After the loſs of Fort St. Catherine, the city was only covered from a direct attack, by the works raiſed about the gate and ſuburbs of St. Hilary. The enemy could chuſe their ground to batter them; and, by raiſing a platform of cannon on the heights that commanded them, they were ſoon reduced with the ſuburbs to a heap of ruins. In this imminent danger, the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh who were arrived, prolonged the reſiſtance of the city. The batteries at Harfleur, and the *eſtacade* conſtructed in the river, by Campi, an Italian engineer, were inſufficient to diſcourage a ſecond attempt to throw ſuccours into Rouen. Of four *remberges* fitted out, two were forced back, one ſunk, and another

puſhed

puſhed her way through all dangers, and brought a reinforcement of five hundred men and ſome proviſions*. At the aſſault of Colombiere, which was the ſtrongeſt of the towers that flanked the walls of the city; the Engliſh, always prodigal of their blood, and animated by their particular emulation of the French, diſplayed their obſtinate valour, by maintaining their ground for eight hours. The courage of the beſieged was rouſed to extremity. Every attack became more bloody and deſperate. The gate of St. Hilary was now ruinous, and the garriſon was required, in the king's name, to prevent the deſtruction of the city by capitulating. Upon the delay of the anſwer, a more general and vigorous aſſault of the narrow breach was given. The aſſailants, with the loſs of ſix hundred men, were only able to lodge themſelves on the gate-way of St. Hilary, and plant three ſtandards on the rubbiſh. The ſlaughter of the beſieged was no leſs conſiderable; part of the ramparts and ſome ſtreets being raked by the artillery. The king of Navarre having advanced into the trench, and received a muſket-ſhot in the ſhoulder; the accident occaſioned the intended renewal of the general attack to be deferred for a day. Upon a repeated ſummons to ſurrender, the garriſon and citizens offered to open their gates to the king; on the condition, that liberty of conſcience were granted them according to the edicts, and that the army withdrew three leagues from the city. This being refuſed, and another aſſault given without ſucceſs, the beſieged raiſed new entrenchments, repaired the breach of the tower of Colombiere, and determined to abide the laſt extremity. A detachment of four hundred muſketeers from Dieppe, endeavouring to find under favour of the night a paſſage into Rouen, were diſcovered by

1562.

October 17.

* D'Aubigne, liv. iii. chap. 10. Thuan. ibid.

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d'Amville near the wood of Pavilly, and moſt of them killed or driven back. While Mandreville and Bauquemare went ſeveral times to the camp, with propoſitions to the king; the combats ſtill continued with little interruption. The rains having rendered the mines uſeleſs; the aqueducts of the city were cut off, the mill-ſluices were drained, and the trenches puſhed to the walls. At length, their courage and ſtrength wore out with a month's cloſe ſiege, and the deſpair of receiving relief, and a mine being ſprung, the defenders of the breach were overwhelmed, and the aſſailants led by St. Colombe, who was ſhot in the ſtreet, poured into the city *. The havock and plunder equalled the reſiſtance; and the king and queen regent beheld from St. Catherine's Hill the ravage of one of the richeſt and moſt mercantile towns of France. The proclamation againſt pillage being diſregarded by ſoldiers and officers; the property of proteſtants and catholics alike became their prey. Of all the military bands which received orders to retire to the camp, the Swiſs were the only corps who obeyed. The unforced diſcipline of a people, bred up and accuſtomed to the habits of ſobriety and frugal livelihood, is always remarkable. Amidſt the rapacious depredation of this wealthy city, the body of the Swiſs was confined to proviſions, the commodity of a kettle, a pot, or ſome other utenſil neceſſary for a camp. Montgomery having ſeized one of the galleys that carried the queen of Scotland into her dominions, and kept it ready in the river againſt all emergencies, took his opportunity to embark with the remainder of the Engliſh; and by the vigorous efforts of the rowers, who were promiſed their liberty, burſt the barricades that obſtructed his navi-

and, after a month's reſiſtance,

it is taken and pillaged.

* Memoires de Caſtel. liv. iii. chap. 13.

gation, and got ſafe to Havre. To the ſeverities which the city ſuffered, particular examples of judicial and vindictive puniſhment were added. De l'Hoſpital had endeavoured to prevent this, by procuring a general amneſty to be paſſed; but it was left to the counſellors of the parliament of Rouen to make exceptions; who, ſufficiently inclined to execute their penal ſtatutes, paſſed ſentence of death on Manderville, the preſident of the chamber of accounts, on de Croſs, and the miniſter Marlorat, and ſeveral other citizens of note, who were beheaded or hanged. The chiefs of the oppoſite confederacy, thinking themſelves entitled to make retaliation, ſeized Sapin, a counſellor of parliament, and de Troyes, the abbot of Gaſtines, and cauſed them to be judged and executed. Their caſe, ſays father Daniel, was altogether different; and de Thou reckons it not juridically parallel. It is certain they were not taken in arms, but as they went in company with de Selves, employed as a negotiator at the court of Spain *. But the law here unhappily urged, was that of repriſals, which, entering into no particular diſcuſſion of caſes, recompences one act of violence and cruelty by another. Hiſtory furniſhes too many inſtances of the diſmal effects of forming civil tribunals in the camp, and amidſt the rencounter of armies, capital puniſhments and executions, however juſtified on the one ſide, will occaſion reciprocal outrage and barbarity on the other.

THE taking of Rouen, which is computed to have been attended with the deſtruction of four thouſand men, on each ſide, was followed by the death of the king of Navarre. Through his impatience of the neceſſary operation, or the unſkilfulneſs of the

* Thuan. ibid. p. 667.

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surgeons, the ball remained unextracted from his wound. The rising fever seems to have occasioned the listless fancy he took, to be carried in a litter on the shoulders of the Swiss, that he might make a kind of triumphal procession into Rouen. He expired in a few days after, when he had embarked in a boat to go up the Seine to his house at St. Maure, near Paris. The hours before approaching death, though the passages of them are curiously observed and recorded, are not, with all men, the surest for discovering their political principles, or ascertaining their religious ones. What the historians relate of his receiving the sacred *viaticum* of the catholic church, and afterwards declaring, that on his recovery he would live and die in the Ausbourg confession, serves not only to shew his particular unsteadiness, but the ambiguity of the judgments formed in cases of this nature. Neither can any distinct construction be formed of the injunctions he is said to have left his queen, not to come to court, and to fortify his places in Berne. To express the lines of his character, already marked in the course of the history, by a parody, is superfluous. His most memorable honour was, in being the parent of a young prince, whose single character and reputation proved sufficient to adorn the annals of his nation and age, and perpetuate, in France, the pleasing remembrance of the first king of the Bourbon blood, raised by providence to save the sinking monarchy, and redress the numberless wounds the kingdom received in more than thirty years of civil war. Henry, who was born at Peau in Berne, was only at this time nine years of age. He was educated by the queen his mother at Nerae, who, with her son, and an infant daughter, had retreated from the court about the time her husband declared himself a catholic *. The queen regent appears to have apprehended the king of

The king of Navarre dies of a wound he received at the siege.

Nov. 17.

* Brantome, de duc du Guise.

‡ Navarre's

Navarre's death might produce ſome diſadvantages to the catholic party, by his immediate vaſſals and partizans falling off to the other ſide. In the preſent minority of the king, and of the firſt prince of the blood, the prince of Condé might indeed be reckoned to have ſtood in the room of his brother, and to be the only acting guardian of the blood royal. But, when the political confederacies were already formed, and cemented by the animoſities of the civil war; this conſideration could have little influence to make a change. In other circumſtances, this event might have cauſed conſiderable revolutions in the parties of the court. As things ſtood, the vacancy of his office of lieutenant general, inſtead of becoming a ſubject of diſpute, excited no competition; and it may be reckoned a proof, that the duke of Guiſe governed his ambition in another manner than he had done in the former reign, by forming no pretenſions to it.

To finiſh the conqueſt of Normandy, the ſiege of Havre de Grace, poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, under the command of the earl of Warwick, only remained to be accompliſhed. When the fate of Rouen was foreſeen, Dieppe and Caen had both capitulated *. The Engliſh troops in the firſt of thoſe places had liberty to depart in ſafety, and the proteſtant townſmen had not only a general amneſty granted them in the king's name, but alſo an exception from all moleſtation, on account of private worſhip, in their houſes; which indulgence the marſhal Montmorency, who came thither, had powers to confirm. If the ſame methods had been taken in other places, ſubmiſſions of this kind, without bloodſhed, would have been more general. The army having undergone much fatigue before Rouen, it was judged improper to expoſe it to freſh

Havre de Grace, garriſoned by the Engliſh, is blockaded by the German troops;

* Thuan. lib. xxxii. p. 668.

labours,

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labours, by proceeding to Havre. The chiefs contented themſelves with detaching three thouſand of the German Lanſquenets, and twelve hundred Reiters, with ſix companies of French infantry, in order to form a ſort of blockade of that place, and prevent the excurſions of the garriſon. When the Rhingrave came to his encampment at Graville, a large body of the Engliſh marched ſuddenly from the town, and attacked his quarters *. The charge vigorouſly given, proved the firſt ſmart trial of the courage of the Lanſquenets in the field. Baſſompiere, their lieutenant colonel, was wounded in the action, which diſpoſed the Germans to keep at a proper diſtance, and attend, what to them was the moſt agreeable part of their taſk, the interception of the proviſions that might be carried from the country adjacent to the town †. Before the army was led back to be cantoned in the neighbourhood of Paris, a proclamation was iſſued for pardoning paſt acts of tumult and rebellion, on condition that thoſe chargeable with them retired in peace, and lived like good catholics. Notwithſtanding ſeveral exceptions that were made of the heads and ringleaders of ſedition, and of the violators of the churches, many proteſtants, tired of the confuſions, and apprehenſive of the overthrow of their party, choſe to take the benefit of this indemnity. The general ſucceſs of the catholics elevated them with hopes, that the entire ſubjection of the proteſtants would ſoon be accompliſhed. But the intelligence received during the ſiege of Rouen, of the ſucceſs of d'Andelot in his miſſion for German levies, gave a different aſpect of the condition of that party, and appears to have been the principal inducement for drawing the army nearer the metropolis, and the centre of the kingdom.

but the main army of the catholics withdraws to the neighbourbood of Paris.

* Caſtelnau, liv. iv. chap. i. † Thuan. ibid. p. 676.

CHAP. II.

Arrival of German ſuccours to the proteſtants—Aſſault of the ſuburbs of Paris by the prince of Condé—Propoſals of peace—General battle of Deux—Expedition of the admiral Coligni into Normandy—Siege of Orleans—Aſſaſſination of the duke of Guiſe—Peace of Orleans—Expulſion of the Engliſh from Havre de Grace.

THE difficulties ſurmounted by the prince of Condé's agents in Germany, in gaining credit to the ſolicitations of their party at the diets of the empire, and the induſtry and expedition uſed by d'Andelot, in raiſing and conducting the auxiliary troops at a late and incommodious ſeaſon of the year, might, in a particular detail, form a conſiderable epiſode of the hiſtory, and raiſe our ideas of the characters of thoſe who executed this double enterprize. The political part of it was conducted by Spifame biſhop of Nevers; a man whoſe character is partially diſfigured by ſeveral of the catholic hiſtorians. His many natural and acquired * endowments were illuſtrious as his birth. The indubitable mark of his merit appeared, by his riſing gradually through all the ſubordinate degrees of eccleſiaſtical rank and dignity, until he was made biſhop by Henry II. His eloquence and his compoſitions were admirable; of both which he gave remarkable ſpecimens in his preſent employment of negotiator for the proteſtants in Germany. The endeavours uſed by d'Oiſel, an officer converſant in the affairs of the cabinet and of the field, and ſeconded by Bochetel the biſhop of Rennes, who were both inſtructed to traverſe his meaſures, proved inſufficient to prevent their ſucceſs. In oppoſition to the influence of

Spifame, biſhop of Nevers, employed as the prince of Condé's agent in Germany.

* Addit. aux. Caſtel. liv. iv.

their

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their intrigues and bribery among the German princes, he not only advanced the reputation of his party, but carried the main points of his embaſſy with a degree of triumph. At the diet of Frankfort, where Maximilian, ſon to Ferdinand, was elected king of the Romans, having obtained three ſeveral audiences of the emperor and of his ſon, and of the electors, he got the letters wrote by the queen regent to the prince of Condé, the originals of which he produced, entered into the archives of the imperial chamber; and, by his addreſs afterwards, the Rhingrave and count Rokendolf were both put to the ban of the empire. This production of queen Catherine's letters, though neceſſary for the prince's vindication, excited her indignation againſt him, and fixed her more immoveably in the intereſt of the faction in oppoſition to him. She publiſhed them after this with a marginal gloſſary of her own, which was ſaid to be a paraphraſe too prolix for a very conciſe and plain text *. The affected delays of two German captains, who had private reaſons for ſpinning out the time of the levies, being overcome by Spifame, and the landgrave of Heſſe engaged to exert himſelf in the buſineſs; d'Andelot was enabled to bring them to a rendezvous at Bacara in Lorain, about the middle of October. His vigilance in keeping them from deſertion for want of regular pay; his well concerted marches; and, when he had contracted a quartan ague in the mountains, his invincible labours in directing and guiding the frequent and long circuits he was obliged to make in them, ſhewed the ſpirit of the man, and the abilities of the able and experienced officer. Having made ſhew of penetrating the direct way through Lorain, he turned ſuddenly towards the left, and ſtretching over the difficult roads of Bur-

proves ſucceſsful in engaging a body of foot and horſe;

which is conducted into France by d'Andelot:

* Thuan. ibid. p. 676.

gundy,

gundy, he avoided an encounter with the marſhal St. André and the duke of Nevers, who had placed themſelves in a ſituation to intercept his paſſage. He brought his whole compliment of three thouſand foot in nine companies, and four thouſand horſe in twelve troops, to Montargis, and the neighbourhood of Orleans, in the middle of November. This reinforcement, augmented by a body of French gentry, who joined d'Andelot in his march, and fifteen hundred ſoldiers, collected by the count of Rochefoucault and de Duras, after their defeat in Perigord, was not only ſufficient to enable the prince of Condé to take the field, but occaſioned his undertaking an enterprize no leſs injudicious in itſelf than it appeared to be unproportioned to his ſtrength. This was an attempt to beſiege Paris; which, it was evident, could neither be taken nor forced to a capitulation, by his army. But the opinion of the fame of the enterprize, and the deſire of ſtriking terror into the Pariſians, prevailed over more rational ſchemes of action *. The proteſtant miniſters are reckoned to have been the counſellors of this expedition, from their hatred to the people of Paris. But it may be more probably attributed to the prince of Condé himſelf, whoſe temper carried him, ſometimes too precipitately, to attempt deciſive blows, or ſuch as might operate directly towards an accommodation. It had the effect of introducing ſeveral fruitleſs interviews; but its conſequences proved dangerous, and were like to have terminated in a fatal manner.

By which reinforcement the prince of Condé is encouraged to draw near Paris;

EVERY reaſon, however weak, has a double weight, when advanced to ſupport a favourite reſolution. The abſence or diſperſion of the catholic forces in different quarters, was thought to afford an advantageous opportunity to attack Paris. The prince

* D'Avila, liv. iii.

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had to march through a part of the country, where the towns were occupied by ſmall garriſons of the enemy; and he conſumed time in taking Pluviers, Eſtampes, Montleri, and Dourdon, which gave an alarm about his deſigns. But the interruption he met with at Corbeil was more unfortunate. This town on the Siene, almoſt equally defenceleſs with the others, made reſiſtance, and obliged him to begin a kind of regular ſiege of it; until ſome ſuccours being thrown into it by the marſhal St. André, the prince embraced the pretext of a conference propoſed by the queen to withdraw from the aſſault. The catholic forces were, by this time, aſſembled in great numbers, and the two armies, ſeparated by the Siene, marched ſometimes in ſight of each other. That of the catholics, from a diſcovery of the prince's intention, was drawn around the

and to attempt an aſſault of the ſuburbs;

Nov. 24. city and ſuburbs, while he kept on his rout to Ville-Juif, within two leagues of Paris. The hopes of his gaining any advantage were now almoſt vaniſhed. An interview between the conſtable and his nephew the admiral, began the conference for a treaty, which was ſoon interrupted. The prince of Condé, reſolute upon ſtriking ſome intimidating ſtroke before he retired, prepared for attacking the ſuburbs of St. Victor. The effect it produced at firſt ſurpaſſed expectation. Six hundred light horſe, who had advanced beyond the ramparts of St. Victor, were driven back in ſuch diſorder, that carrying their terror along with them, the ſoldiers began to fly into the city; through which a vaſt conſternation was immediately ſpread. The firſt preſident of the parliament, Le Maitre, died of the fright, while the populace in confuſion cried to abandon the ſuburbs and ſhut the gates. This alarm was ſoon compoſed by the diſpoſitions made by the duke of Guiſe for repelling the enemy. The prince drew off his troops and divided them into three bodies, for the ſake of lodging them

which proves abortive; but occaſions a conference about peace.

in

in covered quarters. Their number amounted to eight thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe. The catholic chiefs, ſatisfied with guarding againſt their attacks of the ſuburbs, anſwered their defiances to battle only by ſome cannonading and ſlight ſkirmiſhes. Another more formal conference was ſet on foot by the queen. The demands of the prince of Condé, after being heard by the delegates on both ſides, were put in writing by the ſecretary d'Aubeſpire. In them he required liberty of religious aſſemblies for the proteſtants, only in the places where they ſhould aſk it. He offered to reſtore the cities poſſeſſed by his party, and immediately to diſmiſs all his foreign auxiliaries. A free council or a national one was alſo mentioned. It is obſerved * upon this treaty, by the catholic hiſtorians, that the prince, far from being preciſe or rigid in his articles, diſcovered ſuch a ſimplicity and negligence in his ſcroll of them, that the queen might have conſented to them with great advantage againſt him. But as ſhe choſe not to conclude without protracting the negotiation, and inſiſted that no public meetings of the proteſtants ſhould be allowed in the parliament-towns and frontier-places, he had time to reflect on the material omiſſions he had made, and demanded that pledges ought to be given for the fulfilment of the conditions. The diſagreement about this put an end to the treaty. The queen had at any rate acted a ſure part. The Spaniſh auxiliaries, with the troops from Gaſcony, had now advanced to the Siene. Two projects that were formed by the prince for attacking, in the night, the trenches of the ſuburbs of St. Marceau and St. Germain, were diſconcerted. By the departure of Genlis from the camp, who had reſented the diſgrace of his brother Ivoy for the ſurrender of Brouges, the

1562.

Dec. 7.

* P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 767.

Book IV. 1562. Dec. 10.

prince of Condé believed his deſigns betrayed to the enemy. Nothing could now be thought of but a retreat. The prince had no other honour in the attempt upon Paris, beſides that of effectuating it without being attacked by the enemy ſuperior in number, and after having ſhewn himſelf diſpoſed to conclude an equitable peace.

Instead of retiring, as he might have done, from Paris,

The diſadvantageous engagement in the general battle of Dreux may be reckoned a neceſſary ſequel of the blockade of Paris. The impropriety of the one extended by a train of circumſtances to the other. Embarraſſment, ſudden reſolutions created by neceſſity, and diſagreement among the principal leaders of the prince's army, appeared to have been produced by the firſt error. When the ſcheme formerly propoſed by the admiral of marching into Normandy to join the Engliſh, was now reſumed in a more unfavourable conjuncture; the prince of Condé, after he had got in three days to St. Arnoul, and learned that the catholic army had moved to Eſtampes, was immediately ſtruck with the project of throwing his forces between them and Paris, with the hopes of ſurpriſing the city. In the ſituation of the two armies, the attempt was barely practicable; but it preſented inevitable ruin to the army, in caſe of the leaſt obſtruction or miſcarriage. The admiral with reaſon oppoſed this, and was joined by the majority of the commanders in his opinion. In the midſt of controverſy, another ſcheme for ſecuring their retreat, by aſſaulting Chartres, was dropt, and the attempt to puſh their way into Normandy, and ſhun the encounter of the enemy, who had advanced by another road upon that ſide, began to be executed, with apparent marks of miſunderſtanding between the two principal chiefs. From * the pauſe of the

the prince of Condé thinks of attempting to ſurprize it;

* D'Aubigne, liv. iii. chap. 13. Thuan. ibid. p. 679.

enemy

enemy at Eſtampes, who were uncertain of their motions, they gained full two days march, which might have prevented their being forced to an action. But the prince of Condé, who now perſuaded himſelf that a battle could not be evited, and regulated his motions upon this belief, made a forced march with the main battle towards Dreux, a town in the confines of Normandy, with the view of making himſelf maſter of this poſt before the enemy. He did not take it; but, by his precipitation, he threw the admiral, who led the van, a league and a half behind him, which obliged them to halt a whole day, until the army could recover the order of its march. The catholic chiefs, who now approached the plains of Dreux, and ſaw, that by a little expedition they could oblige the enemy to fight, expected only the return of Caſtelnau, who was ſent to court to inform the queen that they had it in their power to engage the Hugonots, and only waited orders. It appeared to Catherine * a very ſingular kind of reference, and ſhe teſtified her ſurprize and her ridicule of it, by a natural ſally. In preſence of Caſtelnau, turning to the king's nurſe, "Behold, ſaid ſhe, the great generals of the army have ſent to aſk a woman and her ſtripling ſon, whether they ſhould fight a battle; pray what opinion now do you give?" Charles coming in, ſhe cauſed him declare, that he left the deciſion of the queſtion to the prudence of the commanders.

and, loſing time, is obliged to engage the catholic army

THE inattention and confidence natural to the French nation, appeared more evident among the military chieftains on the proteſtant ſide, than among the commanders of the catholic army. It was corrected in the latter, by many of them having been longer

in the plains of Dreux:

Dec. 19.

* Caſtelnau, liv. iv. chap. 4.

accuſtomed

Book IV. 1562. accuſtomed to the practical part of military operations. The prince of Condé having paſſed the river Eure, fordable every where, took up his quarters about Neron, a little village beyond it, without the common precaution of ſending out ſcouts, or ordering the villages on its banks to be occupied by detachments. The conſtable Montmorency, who had brought the catholic army to the oppoſite ſide, and encamped there unperceived by the enemy, forded the Eure in the night; and, favoured by the moon, got his whole artillery moved to the unguarded villages. The noiſe of the drums and trumpets, which was heard when the prince of Condé's army began to be put in motion, proved the ſignal to the conſtable to range his forces in order of battle. They conſiſted of ſixteen thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe, ſeparated into two great diviſions; the one forming the van of the army, conducted by the marſhal St. André, and the other the main battle, commanded by the conſtable *. In advancing towards the arrangement, the villages of l'Eſpine and Blainville ſtood at ſuch a diſtance from each other, that the conſtable's main body, drawn up in one front, could not eaſily enter between them; and the different troops which compoſed it, ſtretched forward in the form of a creſcent, a conſiderable way beyond the van-guard. Towards Blainville on the left, the marſhal St. André and the duke of Guiſe ranged the battalions of the latter, which, from the ſituation of the ground and the ſhade of many trees, could not be obſerved at any diſtance. The conſtable's main body, interlined with the cavalry between the diviſions, and having ſome light horſe advanced on its wings, appeared to be the whole extenſion of the army. Such was the diſpoſition of the catholic forces, when firſt perceived by the commanders of the adverſe army. While, in the

* Thuan. ibid. D'Aubigne, ibid.

utmoſt

utmoſt hurry, the latter prepared for an action quite unexpected, d'Andelot, diſabled by the attack of his ague from taking his poſt, moved forward on a baggage horſe, and reconnoitred the enemy. His opinion was, to endeavour to paſs without fighting; which he thought might be done by the bending to the left, and gaining the village of Treon. Immediately the prince of Condé, having joined his main battle with the van, conducted by the admiral, began to move according to this direction. But, having now the enemy in full view, he advanced two or three hundred paces before he made his declination. The diſcharge of the conſtable's artillery, from his left wing, reached his foremoſt ranks, and made ſome of his horſe give way, and forced ſome of the German Reiters to wheel into a declivity *. By this converſion of his troops, he became oppoſite to the advanced guard of the royaliſts, and the admiral with his van ſtood fronting the main battle. The reciprocal diſtance, in both theſe poſitions, was ſtill very conſiderable; when the conſtable, believing the prince's troops to be thrown into diſorder, commanded the Swiſs, who were about three thouſand, and ſome other troops, to advance further into the plain to intercept them. The prince, having his eye ſtill that way, no ſooner perceived them thus expoſed, than, without ſpying what was before him, and leaving the count de Grammont with his foot, he turned with all his cavalry, and fell on the flank of the Swiſs. Their battalion was ſucceſſively pierced by Mouy and d'Avaret, who gave the firſt charge, by the prince's own ſquadron, and by the Reiters of his diviſion. The havock made in ſo many lanes did not diſſipate this immoveable body. Many of them being trod down and killed, and others hurried away in the different ſhocks,

the battle of which is fought December 20.

* Memoir. de Caſtelnau, liv. iv. chap. 5. Thuan. ibid. p. 680.

Book IV. 1562. the reſt ſtill cloſed their files, and kept their ground. Damville advancing to ſuſtain them with three troops of horſe, was encountered by the Reiters, who drove him quite off to the left, until he retreated for ſhelter to the ground of the advanced guard. His brother de Montberon, the fourth and handſomeſt of the conſtable's five ſons, fell in this charge. In the mean time the admiral, having marched forward with more deliberation, directed his attack againſt the thickeſt troops of the conſtable's cavalry, and that part of his centre that ſtood firm. The vollies of cannon he received in advancing, having occaſioned no diſorder, his vigorous charge proved effectual to vanquiſh all that oppoſed him. A total confuſion enſuing; the conſtable being unhorſed, and then wounded in his cheek, was made priſoner by ſome Reiters, from whoſe hands the prince of Porcien received him. No part of his main battle now remained unrouted, but a few of the Swiſs, who at laſt were obliged to retreat. The purſuit towards the river Eure, and much more the plunder of the baggage waggons, occupied for ſome time ſeveral German ſquadrons of the prince's army; when the marſhal St. André, with the van of the catholics, moved to the combat, from which he had been hitherto ſtayed by the advice of the duke of Guiſe. The delay appeared unaccountable to many, but the judgment of ſo great a commander was truſted. When the duke obſerved the field unincumbered with the routed ſquadrons of the right wing, the ſignal was given by the marſhal to his troops to advance. The prince of Condé's infantry, which he had left behind him, were the firſt that were attacked and routed by them. The like was the fate of two troops of Reiters, and of the Lanſquenets that had juſt deſiſted from their aſſault of the Swiſs. The prince of Condé having rallied two hundred of the German troops, could not induce them to charge the enemy, but taking the ſame rout the others

others had done, they left him in their rear, wounded in the hand, and dismounted, to be taken prisoner by Damville.

THOUGH the battle was restored by the admiral, and the prince of Porcien, who at the head of three hundred French horse, and a thousand German reiters, sustained the combat with such resolution, that the duke of Guise was left for a short space of time with not a hundred * cavaliers around him; the advantages gained by the protestant chiefs were irrecoverably lost. Martigues advancing with an old battalion of foot which had not yet engaged, the admiral was obliged to draw off his French horse, who had broke or lost most of their lances. He made his retreat with so much composure, that he carried off two of the heaviest pieces of artillery, and most of the baggage of his army to Neuf-ville. The duke of Guise having scarcely shewn the appearance of following him, took up his lodgement at Blainville. Many of the French foot, and of the Lansquenets scattered over the field, remained in his power. He had also some field pieces, and standards that belonged to the enemy, for tokens of his victory. The loss on both sides was computed to amount to eight thousand men. The slaughter of the catholic army exceeded that of the protestants; and the field was more fatal to their officers of rank. It was the remarkable fate of the marshal St. André † to be shot by Mezieres, whom he had induced to kill a kinsman of his own, that he might prosecute him, and obtain the confiscation of his fortune. The duke of Nevers, while he bid his equerry take care of his pistol, which he held with the muzzle turned towards him, in the moment he spoke, received the shot into his thigh, of which he died in a few

and issues disadvantageously for the protestants.

The death of St. André.

* Castelnau, ibid. D'Aubigne, ibid. chap. 14. † Thuan. ibid. p. 682.

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hours. The duke of Guiſe in all reſpects ſhewed himſelf the courteous and well bred commander. He diſmiſſed ſome hundreds of the German Lanſquenets, upon their giving up their arms, and promiſing to return home. But his behaviour to the prince of Condé was ſtill a finer example of his temper uninflated with ſucceſs. The expreſſions of the characters of the men of magnanimity, were indeed alike conſpicuous in both. They ſhewed that the day of battle ſuppreſſes in noble minds the ſenſe of thoſe reſentments which others always retain, and were kept alive in them on other occaſions. The duke took the ‡ generous care to keep the prince from the company of thoſe who, in ſuch a conjuncture, affected the looks of arrogance and contempt, or intimated their flaming zeal by their inſolent language. For want of camp furniture, which was carried off in the battle, one room with two couches was prepared for them both. The prince unruffled by the chance of battle, received thoſe civilities as what were becoming and ſuitable to the general character of the man, whom political faction alone had made his foe.

Yet the loſs on both ſides, and the fate of the two chief commanders were equal.

BY the flight of the right wing of the catholics in the battle of Dreux, the ſpeedieſt intelligence was carried to Paris, of the total defeat of their army. The appearance of d'Oſſun among thoſe ſwift couriers, confirmed it beyond all contradiction. An aid de camp in the Piedmonteze wars, who had acquired the name of the bold ſoldier; the teſtimony he gave was diſputed by none. The impreſſion of conſternation among the partizans was not more viſible than the facility, with which many of the courtiers conformed their language and addreſs to the import of the tydings.

The fugitives report that the catholics had been defeated;

‡ Brantome de Guiſe.

The

The circle of attendants that had been for ſome time drawn around the dutcheſs of Guiſe, immediately diſappeared. When the queen regent obſerved the agitation the news occaſioned, her unaltered tone and demeanor ſhewed how little ſhe was ſtruck with the ſuppoſed cataſtrophe. All the expreſſions of regret ſhe uttered were, "Aye forſooth, we muſt then pray to God in French!" She began to careſs the prince of Condé's friends and well-wiſhers, and would have proceeded to more public inſtances of her acquieſcence in the imaginary revolution *; if de Loſſe diſpatched by the duke of Guiſe had not arrived next day, with the certain accounts of his having turned the fate of the battle, and obtained a victory. The publiſhers of the falſe intelligence were now upbraided and menaced by Catherine. Public proceſſions were appointed, and bonfires ordered for the celebration of the happy victory. To ſtifle all improper remarks on her appearance, the commiſſion of commander in chief of the army, in abſence of the conſtable, was immediately ſent to the duke with twenty-five collars of the order of St. Michael, to be diſpoſed of by his direction. Though from a ſenſe of the reproach he incurred, d'Oſſun ſtarved himſelf to death, his boldneſs became an ironical proverb.

at which queen Catherine expreſſes no diſmay.

THE proteſtant chiefs, who, in the battle forced upon them, had beat the half of the catholic army, taken the conſtable priſoner, and carried off ſome ſtandards and booty from the field, were as much touched with the diſcredit of being obliged to retire before their enemies, as with the diſcomfiture they had ſuſtained. The admiral, who had with ſignal bravery and conduct, diſputed the honour of keeping the field with the duke of Guiſe, propoſed

* Thuan. ibid. D'Aubigne, ibid.

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in a council of war to attack him again the next morning. The reduced ſtate of the catholic forces, by the almoſt total havock of the Swiſs who were the flower of them, and the rout and diſperſion of their cavalry, in which they had been originally inferior, were the arguments alledged by this judicious commander in ſupport of his ſcheme. The French officers approved the reſolution †; but the Germans, who had ſuffered leaſt in the battle, declined ſuch a ſudden renewal of the combat. To urge the point in the way of command or authority with thoſe troops, who were addicted to perpetual clamour about their pay, proved always dangerous. To prevent in ſome meaſure the unfavourable report of a defeat, the admiral drew up his troops in order of battle, and marched half a league towards the enemy, before he turned off to Galardon and Annet, in the borders of the country of Beauſſe. His high reputation immediately eſtabliſhed him, by unanimous conſent, in the principal command of the army, during the captivity of the prince. Having diſpatched meſſengers to ſeveral cities and provinces, with particular accounts of the battle, and ſent the colours taken from the Swiſs to Orleans, whither the conſtable had been directly conveyed, he prepared to draw near that city; the ſiege of which, he had reaſon to imagine, would be the duke of Guiſe's grand purpoſe. Upon the reſolutions of thoſe two adverſe chieftains, the whole ſcheme of the military enterpriſes on either ſide now depended. By the death of St. Andre, and the abſence of the conſtable, the duke directed the army, and gave the law to the cabinet councils. It may be reckoned that in this conjuncture, both of them ſhewed a keen emulation and ardor in the proſecution of the war. While the queen regent, for many ſerious reaſons, was deſirous of a peace, the duke in the midſt of winter

The prince of Condé being made priſoner, the admiral is advanced to the chief command of the proteſtant army;

and by the captivity of the conſtable the duke of Guiſe has the direction of the cabinet and the army;

† D'Aubigne, ibid. chap. 15.

urged

1563. January.

urged the undertaking of the ſiege of Orleans. To avert or diminiſh the force of this impending blow, the admiral formed the ſcheme of an expedition into Normandy, with part of his forces; while the remainder might form a garriſon ſufficient for the defence of Orleans. He * judged that nothing could ſo much diſturb the Pariſians, and confound the courtiers, as the re-invaſion of that province; and that for its ſecurity, the duke of Guiſe might be induced to detach part of the army he intended to employ in the ſiege. Upon a review of the troops, he found that fourteen companies of French and German infantry, and four troops of the oldeſt French cavalry, could be muſtered in the city. The body of the townſmen could be entirely depended on, to ſecond the troops with alacrity and ſteadineſs. D'Andelot, in conjunction with St. Cyr the governor, and Feuquiere an excellent engineer, undertook the defence of that important place. While Coligni made ſeveral excurſions in Berry, and in the Sologne, where he extended his quarters; the utmoſt attention was given to the collecting of proviſions, and whatever might contribute to the ſtrength of Orleans. He then began his march into Normandy.

and the one reſolves on the ſiege of Orleans, and the other on an expedition into Normandy.

THE fame which the duke of Guiſe acquired by the battle of Dreux, rendered it extremely difficult for the queen regent, however earneſtly bent on peace, to enter for ſome time into an open treaty. Obliged to make ſhew of her catholic zeal, and propagate ſuch eulogies of the victory, and of the overthrow of the heretical party, as were ecchoed at Rome and the council of Trent, ſhe could only look out eagerly for a fit ſeaſon to get free from various grounds of diſquiet and trouble, that had enſued from the civil

* Thuan. lib. 32. p. 689. D'Avila, ibid.

war.

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war. Her jealouſy of the duke of Guiſe, now placed at the head of the army, without any to be a check upon him, and doubly exalted by the popular applauſe, formed only a particular ſupplement to thoſe inconveniences which affected the intereſts of the ſtate and kingdom. It appeared, by too evident proofs, that ſeveral other foreign powers as well as England, had combined to improve the inteſtine broils of France to their emolument. The near alliance contracted with the catholic king, and the duke of Savoy, had no influence to reſtrain theſe princes from diſcovering their partial aims, and their covered enmity. The aſſiſtance which Philip furniſhed, preſented the exterior appearance of friendſhip to the ſtate; while de Chantonay his ambaſſador, endeavoured by many ſiniſter intrigues, to foment the civil diſtractions. Holding every conceſſion made to the proteſtants, a mark of the apoſtacy of the ſtate from the catholic church, he repreſented the kingdom to foreign courts, as devoted to deſtruction by the queen regent's want of religion, and the prevalence of hereſy among the grandees. In the † midſt of the public calamities, thoſe thruſts he gave the government were deeply felt; and the queen had reaſon to denounce him, in one of her letters to the biſhop of Rennes, the natural enemy of the family and crown of France, who ſtrove to render them odious to all the chriſtian powers. Thoſe were not the private exceſſes of an intriguing agent, but the genuine emanations of Philip's political counſels. Catherine received intelligence of the arts he employed to excite the pope and the emperor againſt France; and was even adviſed by the king of Bohemia, to beware of the court of Spain. By his incitements, the emperor his uncle demanded the reſtitution of Metz, Toul, and Verden.

The queen mother finding the perplexities of the government increaſed by the behaviour of the Spaniſh agent Chantonay, and other envoys;

† Addit. aux Caſtel. liv. iii. chap. 9.

Letters of requiſition were ſent to the parliament of Paris, as well as to the queen regent. The duke of Savoy found it a proper conjuncture to engage both the emperor and his catholic majeſty, to ſupport him in procuring the final diſcuſſion of the article of the general treaty of Chateau Cambreſis, reſpecting the ſurrender of the towns and forts which France ſtill retained in Savoy, until the original rights on either ſide, to the poſſeſſion of them ſhould be examined. It ſeemed for the honour of France that this buſineſs, unadjuſted in the late reign, ſhould have continued undetermined in the king's minority. But the agent of Savoy, aſſiſted by Chantonay, having gained over the king of Navarre, the ſpeedy concluſion of it ſhewed how the intereſt of the kingdom, amidſt the cabals of faction, were likely to be proſtituted. The diſcharge of the arrears of the troops of the garriſoned towns, and the loan of a hundred thouſand crowns to the king, and ſome gratuities to the courtiers, gave the duke of Savoy immediate poſſeſſion of almoſt all the places he claimed, except Pignerol, Savillan, and la Perouſe. The queen had her particular reaſons for concurring in this gratification of the duke of Savoy; but, ſenſibly touched with the political procedure of the other foreign powers, ſhe was anxious to place herſelf in a ſituation the moſt favourable for oppoſing them.

becomes ſincerely deſirous of peace.

THE admiral Coligni's expedition into Normandy was the effect of neceſſity more than of choice. To prevent the mutiny of the Germans for want of their pay, it was neceſſary to keep them in motion, and to feed them with hopes. The proſpect of the pillage of the towns they might ſeize, and of their ſhare of a large remittance of money immediately expected from England, induced them to moderate their clamours and complaints, and begin their march. The admiral's ſagacity in forming a ſcheme which, while

it

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In the midſt of winter the admiral marches into Normandy;

it quieted their murmurs, at the ſame time tended to diſturb the enemy in the proſecution of their chief project, and his ſucceſs in this enterprize, were equally remarkable. Having entered Normandy, where the marſhal Briſac could muſter no force ſufficient to oppoſe him, he took Pont l'Eveque, and prepared to beſiege Caen. Before he could make himſelf maſter of this laſt place, in which the revenues of the country were depoſited; the Germans, tired of their long marches, and diſappointed in their expectations, had renewed their former querelous demands, which could neither be ſatisfied nor reſtrained *. Finding themſelves in a country already deſolated by the armies, where the people, driven by many acts of violence to live like ſavages, had hid themſelves with the remainder of their corn and cattle, in the cavities and receſſes of the mountains; beholding, after their tedious expedition, in an inclement ſeaſon, nothing but the face of want and devaſtation in the villages and lands upon the coaſts, while the ſea, blown into a raging ſtorm by the adverſe winds of winter, ſeemed to render the arrival of foreign ſupplies impoſſible; they were thrown into alternate fits of indignation and deſpair. But in their ſituation, patience was the only remedy; ſince diſbanding would have proved more fatal than their ſufferings, and expoſed them to be maſſacred by the country people. In a little time the tempeſtuous ſea calmed; eight veſſels arrived at Havre from England, with money and ſome warlike ſtores; and Caen, defended by the marquis of Elbæuf, brother to the duke of Guiſe, was obliged to capitulate. After the recovery of Dieppe, Harfleur, and other ſmall places, the admiral prepared to return towards Orleans. The apprehenſion of his atchievements in Normandy, had not diverted

* Caſtelnau, liv. iv. chap. 5. Thuan. ibid.

the

the duke of Guiſe from his purpoſe to beſiege it, who withſtood the arguments uſed by the marſhal Briſſac, to prevail with the council to employ the main body of the army in the protection of this province, expoſed to become a prey to the Engliſh and the Hugonots. He had already marched all his forces in ſight of the city; when Caſtelnau was diſpatched by the queen regent and the council, to require him to deſiſt from the enterprize, and to turn to the relief of Normandy. The duke deſired him to mount on horſeback, and witneſs the attack of the ſuburbs, with which the ſiege began about the eighth of February; and then taking occaſion, from the ſucceſs of this firſt attempt, to ſhew the probability there was of his ſoon reducing the city, he ſent him back to explain his reaſons for continuing the ſiege.

which does not divert the duke of Guiſe from his purpoſe of beſieging Orleans, who begins it.

February 8.

Orleans ſituated on the Loire, had a large ſuburbs called the Pontereau, which was connected with the city by a bridge over the river. On the ſide of the ſuburbs, the chief fortifications of the city were extended. Here two towers of antique ſtructure, which were named the Tourelles, ſhut the acceſs to the bridge; and an intrenchment had been lately raiſed by Touquiere, to cover the body of the Pontereau itſelf from a ſudden aſſault. Though the gate of the city at the other end of the bridge was alſo ſtrengthened by a ſquare tower, the duke of Guiſe choſe to make his approaches by this quarter *. His plan appears to have preſented the convenience of lodging his troops in the ſuburbs, and a ſecurity againſt ſallies from different gates, and the advantage of forming a battery from barks on the river fitted with gabions, towards that part of the walls of the city where there was neither rampart or

* D'Aubigne, ibid. chap. 16. D'Avila, ibid.

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place of arms. The redoubts formed in the Pontereau for a temporary defence, became, through the inadvertency and cowardice of the troops that guarded them, the occaſion of unhoped for ſucceſs to the beſiegers, in their firſt aſſault. When De Cipiere led on the firſt diviſion of the catholic army, and after repulſing the ſkirmiſhing parties, had proceeded to aſſail a part of the entrenchments defended by four companies of French foot, he was informed that the German lanſquenets were obſerved to wheel in diſorder from their poſt. Animated by the intelligence, and the arrival of freſh troops, he puſhed another attack that way; by the progreſs of which the Gaſcoon infantry, who made the only reſiſtance, were almoſt ſurrounded. A ſurpriſing confuſion enſued. The baggage waggons of the Germans being wedged in the entrance of the bridge, to which the preſs of the fugitives adhered, the retreat became a blockade of ſoldiers, machines, carmen, and horſes, which could neither face the enemy, nor withdraw into the city. For more than half an hour's ſpace, the bridge gate † of the Tourelles remained unſhut and impaſſable. Some were ſqueezed or trod to death, many killed by the fire of the enemy and the cannon diſcharged from the towers, and numbers periſhed in the river. At length, D'Andelot appearing on the bridge with his chief officers, the enemy ſlackened their aſſault, and gave him an opportunity of extricating his troops from this diſaſter. The duke of Guiſe having thus poſſeſſed himſelf of the Pontereau, proceeded to take meaſures for battering the Tourelles. Some forts, erected by the beſieged, on the iſlands of the river, retarded for ſome time the conſtruction and efficacy of the batteries. But two catholic centinels having made a diſcovery by ſcaling the

and having ſucceſsfully advanced it,

† Thuan. ibid. p. 691. D'Aubigne, ibid.

towers,

towers, that thoſe who guarded them were both negligent and few in number, a ſcheme was concerted to ſurpriſe and overpower them, which ſucceeded. By the reduction of the Tourelles, the bridge would have been laid open, and the batteries in the iſlands rendered uſeleſs. The ſiege was thus far advanced, when the duke of Guiſe's death was ſought, and accompliſhed by the ignominious de Merey Poltrot. As the duke returned in the evening from reconnoitring the new works of the beſieged, with only Roſtaing, one of the queen's domeſtics, near him; the aſſaſſin, watching his opportunity, ſhot him from behind with a carabin. Three balls with which it was loaded having pierced his body above the right ſhoulder, the duke fell to the ground. While Roſtaing called out to the ſervants at ſome diſtance, to give their help, and was ſolicitouſly employed in carrying the duke, ſeverely wounded, into the neareſt lodging, the murderer galloped out of ſight before he could be purſued. But the terrors that ſeized him, joined to the darkneſs of the night, rendered him incapable of effectuating his eſcape. Having tired his horſe with wandering, he was taken in the morning, at no great diſtance from the place where he committed the crime. As he immediately confeſſed it, and threw out aſperſions againſt ſome of the proteſtant chiefs, as being his inſtigators, it is requiſite to explain more particularly the grounds of this calumny.

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is baſely aſſaſſinated by de Merey Poltrot; February 18.

The outrageous purpoſes of bigotry and fanaticiſm ariſe from the native impulſe of the human mind, agitated by thoſe violent affections. Exterior circumſtances may concur to give them a particular direction, and additional force. When Poltrot, who had been bred a catholic, and turned proteſtant, heard, at a conference held near Vienne by the baron des Adrets, that the king of

who being taken by the catholics,

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Navarre was killed at Rouen; with a heavy ſigh burſting from him, he ſaid, "This ſingle victim is not ſufficient to atone for the public miſeries; there remains ſtill a greater ſacrifice to be made." When aſked what ſacrifice he meant? "The mighty Guiſe himſelf," replied he; and ſtretching forth his right arm, and elevating his voice; "and here it is," added he, "that ſhall be raiſed to finiſh by one act, the ſcene of our calamities." He is ſaid to have expreſſed himſelf in this manner on ſeveral occaſions, and even in preſence of Soubiſe, the commander in Lions; in whoſe ſervice he was engaged. Such language paſſing for the tranſports of a man oſtentatious of his zeal and reſolute ſpirit, made ſtill the leſs impreſſion; as it came from one who otherwiſe appeared too ſilent and reſerved, to avow and diſcloſe his real intention and deſign of perpetuating a baſe and diſhonourable action, which could not be executed without ſecrecy. Though his acquaintance with Soubiſe rendered this officer moſt obnoxious to the ſuſpicion of having encouraged or prompted him; Poltrot excepted him from accuſation, and arraigned the admiral, the count de Rochefoucault, Teuquiere, Theodore Beza, and another proteſtant miniſter, as the perſons who had inſtigated him, or were acceſſory to his undertaking the aſſaſſination. His firſt recital of the ſtory, in the moſt favourable light for himſelf, had evident appearances of being the forgery of a wretch who endeavoured to alleviate his crime, by loading the chiefs of his party. The additional warning he gave the queen regent, to guard againſt the machinations of the proteſtants with reſpect to her; and his aſſeverations, that there were many other emiſſaries in the camp before Orleans, who were prepared to imitate the fatal blow he had ſtruck, were too ſuſpicious to ſtrengthen the credit of his teſtimony *. When afterwards he was put to the

endeavours to load the chiefs of his party, with being acceſſory to his crime;

* D'Aubigne, ibid. chap. 20. Thuan. ibid. p. 694.

queſtion,

queſtion, what he emitted was altogether a heap of contradictions. There was not one he had named in his firſt confeſſion, whom he did not by turns exculpate and accuſe; and in the midſt of his torture, at laſt concluded with ſaying, that if the deed were yet uncommitted, he would not ſcruple ſtill to be the actor of it. The admiral, to whom the ſigned copy of his firſt accuſation was ſent by the queen, anſwered it by a formal declaration ſubſcribed by himſelf, the count de Rochefoucault, and Beza; in which he proteſted, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he never had ſeen, or was acquainted with Poltrot, till after the battle of Dreux; when he came to him with diſpatches from Soubiſe and Teuquiere, who recommended him for the employment of a ſpy; that being retained at Orleans for this purpoſe, he had been paid by him a hundred crowns, when he ſet out for Normandy; and that the aſſertion of his having received money from him, was the only true article in Poltrot's confeſſion. As to contriving the fall of the duke by ſuch a method, Coligni declared, that, beſides the principle of honour, he had particular reaſons ſufficient to make him ever hold ſuch a deſign in abhorrence; and that the more ſpecial vindication of himſelf, and the other chiefs, depending on the life of Poltrot, he requeſted that his puniſhment ſhould be poſtponed, until, by a truce of pacification, an opportunity was given them to confute his deteſtable accuſations. This juſt and reaſonable demand was not complied with. Poltrot being carried to Paris, in a few weeks underwent the puniſhment appointed by the law for traitors *. Though his declarations and trial are acknowledged by ſeveral of the catholic hiſtorians to prove nothing againſt the commanders whom he aſperſed; ſome of them ſeize the handle his in-

from which the admiral Coligni and others do their utmoſt to exculpate themſelves.

* Addit. aux Caſtelnau, liv. iv. Brantome de Guiſe.

famous

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famous action affords, to impute it to his religion and the harangues of the protestant ministers. We may judge whether the religion offensive and intolerating, or the defensive one, was most apt to engender the principle, and lead men to the crime of assassination. It is granted that enthusiasm in the one and the other, is productive of similar effects; and that the celebration of Poltrot in some verses, was an incident of which the protestants had reason to be ashamed.

The behaviour of the duke of Guise at his death;

THE duke of Guise survived his wounds six days. While he endured the acute pains of them, his composure equalling the natural fortitude of his spirit, justified the representation the catholic authors give of his exit, as worthy of a christian hero †. He declared that the blood shed at Vassi, maliciously imputed to him, had happened without the least design; and, far from being approved, had created him the utmost vexation and regret. His recommending peace to the queen regent, and declaring every person who should give her contrary advice an enemy to the state, may be considered as an instance of that suspension and reverse of the ruling sentiments and passions, which the view of approaching fate is frequently observed to produce in the minds of men.

and additional account of his character.

Esteemed the greatest general of his time, possessed of many personal virtues, qualified to have been the stay and ornament of the state; his private character of humanity was contrasted by several instances of violence in public procedure; and the sentiments of the man, and of the subject, appeared sometimes to be lost in those of the haughty party-leader. His political appearance pointed out and encouraged the pursuit of that peculiar system of independence, which his son afterwards espoused without reserve, and found means, by adhering to it, to shake the constitution of the

* Thuan. ibid. p. 692. D'Aubigne, ibid.

monarchy.

monarchy *. At the time of his death, he is ſaid to have been indebted more than two hundred thouſand crowns. The high ſchemes of his brother, the cardinal of Lorain, were entirely baffled by this event. He entertained the view of forming a league with the pope and the whole houſe of Auſtria, by the marriage of his niece the queen of Scotland with the archduke Charles, one of the emperor's ſons, in order to ſet up the catholic ſtandard in England againſt queen Elizabeth, and to rekindle a war between the catholic and proteſtant princes in Germany †. The moſt blameable part of the duke's conduct is aſcribed by the hiſtorians to the influence of the cardinal's counſels.

The ſiege being ſuſpended by this event,

THE duke of Guiſe's death gave the queen regent intire hold of the reins of government. If the proteſtants rejoiced in it more openly, they did not feel more ſincere ſatisfaction than ſhe, who beheld, in the ſhort courſe of the war, three of the greateſt controulers of her authority, more formidable to her than all the proteſtants, ſucceſſively ſwept away. The reſolution for peace already formed by her, could now be proſecuted without reſtraint. The prince of Condé being of himſelf favourably inclined to it, was further inſtigated by various arguments ſhe had uſed with him to promote the meaſure. She is ſaid to have given him hopes of ſucceeding the king of Navarre in his rank in the government. A truce was ſoon agreed to; and the queen regent, who had come to the camp, having met with the princeſs of Condé at St. Memin, one of the iſles in the Loire was pitched on for the place of conference. As the conſtable obſtinately contended againſt the

* Addit. aux Caſtel. liv. iv.

† Addit. aux Caſtel. liv. iii. chap. 10. Thuan. ibid. D'Aubigne, ibid.

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admiſſion of the edict of January, and the prince of Condé ventured not at firſt to promiſe any modification of it; an agreement was made, that being both on their parole, the one ſhould remain in the catholic army, and the other be permitted to go to Orleans, to uſe their endeavours to conciliate the differences of the parties upon this grand point. It ſoon appeared that the prince of Condé meant to engage his adherents to make conceſſions. From his manner of ſtating the queſtion about the edict, the proteſtant miniſters took the alarm. That body of men, to * whom he at firſt addreſt himſelf, are alledged to have given, on this occaſion, an unfavourable ſpecimen of their character and ſpirit; when, in an aſſembly of ſeventy-two of their number, they unanimouſly determined to inſiſt upon the maintenance of the edict of January in all its articles, and threw in ſome other demands for an enquiry about the maſſacres, that might embarraſs the treaty of peace. The ſenſe of their importance, and their affectation of ariſtocratical power, are reckoned the unſuitable motives upon which they acted. Perhaps a more candid judgment may with reaſon pronounce, that, from miniſters attached to the intereſts of their religion, and concerned for their popular reputation, and acting in the capacity of delegates from the different provinces, a general and public declaration of their ſentiments, more moderate than that of claiming the confirmation of the edict of January, could ſcarcely be expected. The prince of Condé, immediately ſenſible that the nobility of his party, more deciſive and leſs fettered than the miniſters, might be diſpoſed to adopt his views from reaſons to which the latter would not yield, reſolved to conſult with them alone about the expediency of peace. The honour

which, together with the deaths of the king of Navarre and the marſhal St. André, proved no diſſatisfaction to Catherine of Medicis:

a treaty of peace called that of Orleans, or of Amboiſe, is concluded by her.

* Addit. aux Caſtel. ibid.

of

1563. March 19th.

of the deciſion being thus reſigned to them, the point was carried with little difficulty †. In place of the edict of January, a more limited rule of toleration was accepted. In all fiefs holding directly of the crown, and which had the privilege of *Haubert* or high juſtice, the barons and nobility were allowed the free and public exerciſe of the proteſtant religion, for themſelves and their vaſſals. In other inferior feus, the proprietors, when they did not reſide in towns or villages ſubject to higher juriſdictions, were permitted to enjoy the ſame liberty in their houſes and families. In every bailliwick, having privilege of an immediate appeal to the courts of parliament, a city or town was to be appointed, in the ſuburbs of which the proteſtants might aſſemble for public worſhip; and in the places where they enjoyed it at the time of the ſigning of the convention, the free exerciſe of it was alſo to be retained. In the city and liberties of Paris, and in all other parts of the kingdom not ſpecified, they were prohibited to meet publicly; but private liberty of conſcience was univerſally permitted to them. The other articles reſpecting indemnities for the civil war, were conceived in the moſt preciſe and expreſs terms. The prince of Condé and his adherents, were not only acquitted by a general amneſty from all impeachments; but whatever had been done by them, was declared to have proceeded from good intention, and with a view to the ſervice of the king and the royalty. The whole particular ſtipulations, reduced to the form of an edict, ſigned by the king, and dated from Amboiſe on the nineteenth of March, were ordered to be entered into the records of all the courts of parliament.

† D'Aubigne, liv. iii. chap. 26. Thuan. lib. xxxii. p. 695.

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THE treaty of peace concluded on thoſe terms by the prince of Condé at Orleans, without being communicated to the queen of England, or the German princes that had aſſiſted him, became the ſubject of ſome animadverſions and complaints. The admiral, in whoſe abſence the whole affair had been conducted, without his being allowed an opportunity to vote in it, had reaſon to be diſſatisfied. His authority and intereſt in the army, his recent ſucceſs in Normandy, added to his ſignal ſervices in the war, ſeemed to give him a particular title to be conſulted, and to judge of the propriety of the accommodation. Being arrived at Orleans, ſome days after it was finiſhed, he expreſſed, before the prince and the council of the leading men, his ſurpriſe at the precipitation they had uſed; and alledged ſeveral reaſons, both from the principles of honour and intereſt, that ſhould have prevailed with them not to have given up the edict of January; the infringement of which ſolemn act of government had been, at foreign courts, and on all occaſions, declared by them to be their juſt motive for taking up arms. But having no deſire to appear in the light of an adverſary to the public peace, he not only deſiſted from his objections, but declared that the treaty being brought to an iſſue *, every one ſhould acquieſce in it. It may indeed be reckoned, that the change of the general plan of toleration, preſcribed by the edict, into the ſtricter model of the preſent convention, was a meaſure fraught with ſeveral political diſadvantages; eſpecially when conſidered not merely as an expedient neceſſary for the attainment of peace, but in a more extenſive view, as a regulation deſigned for the preſent and future quiet of the kingdom. It gratified too far the intolerating ſpirit of the eſtabliſhed religion, and gave the

The terms of it differing from the edict of January,

are diſreliſhed by many of the proteſtant.

* D'Aubigne, ibid.

bigotted catholics ground to expect a revocation of those strained conceſſions. By the ſuppreſſion of the proteſtant aſſemblies in many places, it cheriſhed the antipathy to their religion; and prevented the abatement of thoſe violent prejudices and reſentments of the oppoſite parties towards each other; which, being inflamed by the civil war, required to be allayed by all the inducements to familiar intercourſe and concord, that peace and time might afford. From the more complex tenor of the new edict, ſome of its articles were liable to controverſy, and its execution was rendered inconvenient. D'Amville the conſtable's * ſon, who, about this time, was created a marſhal, ſet an example in Languedoc for the execution of it, which gave occaſion to ſeveral complaints. The explications he gave of its diſputable clauſes, which the proteſtants alledged to be unfavourable and prejudicial to them, were generally followed in other provinces; and adopted in ſome amendments of the edict by the court. It was plain, that to adjuſt the various grants and reſtrictions comprehended in it, ſuch a temperate procedure was requiſite, as could hardly be looked for, in the cloſe of civil broils; when, unhappily, ſeveral of the catholic commanders, who entered the ſurrendered towns, and diſarmed the proteſtants, could not refrain from aſſuming the moſt unſeaſonable airs of ſuperiority and triumph.

The advantage of the peace being felt by the queen regent,

In conſequence of the concluſion of the peace, the cities and forts held by the proteſtants being every where evacuated, the prince of Condé was not only reconciled to the court, but intangled there, by ſome attractives of the ſofter paſſions. The queen regent now found her authority in the ſtate ſuddenly exalted to a pitch of independance; which even the fond hopes of her ambition could

* Thuan. lib. xxxiv. p. 697. D'Aubigne, liv. iv. chap. 1.

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hardly have promiſed to her. The factions at court, by a train of events having ſubſided, ſhe ſaw thoſe who uſed to obtrude upon her their demands of preferment, diſpoſed to wait her deciſion. Upon the death of the duke of Guiſe, the conſtable expected that the office of grand maſter of the palace, of which he had been formerly ſpoiled, ſhould now be reſtored to him; and ſhewed ſome diſguſt at its being conferred on the young duke, by abſenting a while from court; and then accepted the transference of his government of Languedoc * to his ſon D'Amville, as an equivalent for the diſappointment. To give foreign ſtates a convincing proof of the auſpicious change of the condition of the kingdom, it remained only to effectuate the expulſion of the Engliſh, by reducing Havre de Grace. There needed to be no formal declaration of war between two powers that were at ſuch open variance; yet Elizabeth, when required to deliver up that town, made the want of this ceremony a pretext for arreſting Paul de Foix the French ambaſſador at London, and iſſuing her warrants for the detention and ſeizure of all French ſhips in the ports of England, or in the channel. The Engliſh envoy Throgmorton had made himſelf much more obnoxious to ſuch treatment, by the intelligence he kept with the Hugonots in France. His intrigues had been a † counterpart to thoſe of Chantonay the ambaſſador of Spain; and, though not ſo apparently inſolent, were no leſs exceptionable to the court. About this time he had taken the opportunity to repaſs the ſea; when Elizabeth teſtified her chagrin at the treaty of Orleans, by demanding from France the reſtitution of Calais, and declaring the juſt title ſhe had to keep poſſeſſion of Havre, until that important article of the general peace was fulfilled. The

ſhe begins to exert more authority in the ſtate,

* Addit. aux Caſtel. liv. iii.

† Ibid. chap. 9.

anſwer

anſwer from the French court was, that the clauſe of the ſame treaty obliged her to commence no acts of hoſtility againſt France, during the currency of eight years; in which ſpace of time the re-delivery of Calais, or a pecuniary redemption, had been on that condition promiſed. When the neceſſary preparations for a ſiege were made, the French troops marched from all quarters into Normandy; and about the middle of July encamped before Havre.

1563. and reſolves to expel the Engliſh from Havre de Grace:

July 15th.

THE Engliſh troops in that town, commanded by the earl of Warwick, conſiſting at firſt of five thouſand men, had been already thinned by a diſtemper that broke out among them. The calentures of the ſeaſon, joined to the inconveniences of a cloſe ſiege, ſoon rendered it more contagious and peſtilential. Warwick however prepared for a ſtrenuous defence of the place; which being of a quadrangular form, had four baſtions erected on its corners, and ſome towers for its fortifications. The ground around it being a dry looſe ſand, could not be reared into a covering for the trenches; and when dug a few feet deep, was immediately floated with water. The conſtable Montmorency had provided for ſurmounting this difficulty, by means of faſcines, and bags of wool filled with ſand; while the beſieged, expoſed to a different diſtreſs, from the ſcarcity of freſh water, were almoſt totally deprived of it, by the ſprings being cut off which ſupplied the only fountain in the town. The Engliſh were ſoon forced to abandon a palliſaded retrenchment, which was the ſole outwork that ſcreened the body of the place. By the poſſeſſion of it, the French were more ſheltered from the fire of the enemy; and having got a battery of cannon to bear on the mouth of the harbour, the acceſs or exit of ſhips was rendered extremely dangerous *. From the be-

The ſiege of which is undertaken.

* Thuan. lib. xxxiv. p. 699. D'Aubigne, ibid. chap. 2.

ginning

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ginning of the ſiege, the French commanders had entertained hopes of engaging Warwick to capitulate; Cavalcanti, a Florentine whom queen Elizabeth eſteemed, being employed in negotiating with her for that purpoſe. It ſeems that the earl had received private inſtructions about a ſurrender from his miſtreſs; who, ſenſible that Havre could not now be retained, was only deſirous that her ſubjects ſhould believe the preſervation of it had been ſtruggled to the utmoſt of her power. The great mortality of the garriſon, from the prevalence of the malady in the town, was become a reaſon ſufficient to juſtify the moſt abrupt capitulation. The whole terms of it were ſettled, and hoſtages delivered for the performance of them; when ſixty ſail of Engliſh ſhips, under the command of Admiral Clinton, appeared in the bay ſteering towards the harbour. The fleet had on board a large reinforcement of ſoldiers for the garriſon. But Warwick having given notice to the admiral that Havre was delivered up, Clinton caſt anchor in the road; and having embarked the remainder of the troops, immediately ſet ſail for England. The king and queen regent, who had advanced to the abbey of Feçan near the camp, were witneſſes of the happy iſſue of the ſiege; the more an occaſion of public ſatisfaction, as it ſhewed the amicable concurrence of the catholics and proteſtants in the ſervice of the ſtate. The beſieging army had been compoſed of the troops of both; and the Engliſh were ſurpriſed to find themſelves attacked from the trenches by the proteſtant ſoldiers, who had been their comrades upon the ramparts of Rouen. There were only a few of that party diſcontented with the peace; who, under pretence that the Engliſh ought not in honour to be deſerted, had thrown themſelves into Havre. But the prince of Condé, and the moſt of his aſſociates among the nobility, by renouncing their engagements with foreigners, and immediately

and the reduction accompliſhed, by an army compoſed of catholic and proteſtant troops.

diately joining the catholic army, gave ſufficient ground to believe that their recourſe to England and Germany for aſſiſtance, was involuntary and conſtrained; and that the refuſal of religious toleration had formed the chief obſtruction to their peaceful union and coherence with the ſtate. With the honeſt joy of a true patriot, de l'Hoſpital boaſted that ſuch an inference might be made from the behaviour of the proteſtants upon the concluſion of the peace; but this favourable judgement of them was not admitted by the zealous catholics.

Book IV.

CHAP. III.

1563. *Foreign diſputes adjuſted by queen Catherine—Declaration of the king's majority—Oppoſition to it by the parliament of Paris—Queſtion about the duke of Guiſe's murder ſuſpended—Demand of the publication of the council of Trent—Circuit of the king through the provinces—Interview of Bayonne—Proceſs about the eſtabliſhment of the jeſuits.*

A FORTUNATE period ſeemed now to have enſued, in which the tranquillity and general good of the ſtate might be purſued, upon a better plan than that hitherto followed, of oppoſing the power of one faction to another, and of a conſtant attention to the equal balance of the political parties. The queen regent, the * ſpring and promoter of this policy, perceiving its exerciſe to be now ſuperfluous, and perſuaded by the chancellor, took the reſolution to curb the revival of faction, and ſupport the intereſt of the royalty, by a meaſure in itſelf auſpicious and laudable, and not inconſiſtent with the maintainance of her own authority. Her reſolution was to haſten the ſolemn declaration of the king's majority. By her ready compliance with de l'Hoſpital's advice, and the aſſiduous application ſhe gave to the ſettling both the domeſtic and foreign affairs of the kingdom, it muſt be owned that, at this time, Catherine ſhewed herſelf abundantly capable, and not altogether unworthy of that ſupreme authority in the government, to which, with exceſſive eagerneſs, ſhe always aſpired †. By her prudence and addreſs, the emperor's demands for the reſtitution of Metz, Toul, and Veretun, were diverted in a manner that created no miſunderſtanding with the imperial court.

Perſiſting in her purpoſe of compoſing the domeſtic troubles;

* D'Avila, liv. iii.

† Addit. aux Caſtel. liv. iii. chap. 9.

The

The propoſition to Ferdinand about the marriage of the king her ſon to his grandchild, the king of Bohemia's daughter, was the reſource ſhe employed for appeaſing him, which proved ſucceſsful. Her purpoſe and endeavour to obtain peace with England, no leſs diſcovered her juſt conſideration of the ſtate of the kingdom, and her wiſe and temperate regulation of her political meaſures by it. As the inſult and invaſion of the kingdom by the Engliſh appeared to provoke and challenge reſentment, ſhe at firſt made the ſhew of acting with ſpirit. An opportunity was taken to retaliate the affront offered to the French ambaſſador, by ſeizing Throgmorton, who ventured along with another envoy from Elizabeth, to return into France without paſſports. But in this ſtep the manner of proceeding was * ſuch, as rather expreſſed an intention to puniſh the inſolence of the obnoxious envoy, than to teſtify indignation againſt the court of England. There was a diſtinction made in the treatment of the two ambaſſadors, and the advantage was gained of excluding Throgmorton from the negotiations, a point of no ſmall importance to the commencement and happy progreſs of a treaty of peace.

Catherine alſo ſhews her ability in adjuſting foreign affairs;

To obtain a formal recognition of the king's having attained the years of majority, became the preliminary ſtep to all the queen regent's and the chancellor's ſchemes, for re-eſtabliſhing the peace and general welfare of the kingdom. No public tranſaction, relative either to foreign or domeſtic affairs, being fixed without a reference to the will and pleaſure of the king at full age; it was reſolved in the council to proceed with the utmoſt diſpatch in this buſineſs. In the delicate conjuncture of the government, the delay

* Memoir. de Caſtel. liv. v. chap. 1.

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and, by the counsel of the chancellor,

of a few months might have proved extremely prejudicial to the public interest. But how to prevent this inconvenience, when Charles had only entered his fourteenth year, appeared an unsurmountable difficulty. Without a strained commentary on the constitutional law itself, which * declared the king's minority to be expired when he reached that age, it could only be interpreted of the intire numerical completion of fourteen years. But the words of the ordinance of Charles V. being general, the chancellor invented a refined construction of them, from a maxim, in certain cases, adopted in the Roman law, "that the year begun was the year compleated." This rule he pronounced to be applicable to the king's majority; which, being a case of the acquisition of honour and dignity, different from that of the liberation of wards, and their entry to the management of their estates, he alledged could claim that favourable anticipation of time the civil law allowed. A late distinguished French † author, whose reflexions are no less candid than judicious, has remarked that this argument for abbreviating the computation of Charles's majority, which considers the government of a nation solely in the light of an honour, involved a false principle that ought to be rejected in politics. That the inventions of civilians have often tended to perplex mens ideas, and confound their reasonings on the most important subjects, may truly be inferred from this, and many other instances to be found in history. But whether de l'Hospital was himself convinced of the truth of this fictitious argument, or whether he only threw it out, as the most specious one he could devise for promoting a most necessary end; his authority in matters of law prevailed not only to suppress all such controversy as had been raised in the late

* D'Avila, liv. iii. Thuan. ibid. p. 701.

† L'Esprit des Loix, liv. xxix. chap. 16.

reign;

reign, with reſpect to the acceptance of the ſtatute of Charles the Wiſe, but to overcome the juſt objections to which his new explication of it was liable. That he might not, however, expoſe the intereſting queſtion to nice debate and ſcrutiny, and retard its deciſion; he adviſed the king and queen to chuſe the parliament of Rouen, and not that of Paris, for conducting this tranſaction. The extraordinary compliment paid to the counſellors of the parliament of Rouen produced the deſired effect. They readily conformed to the views of the court, and eſteemed it, as they might, a diſtinguiſhing honour, to paſs in their chamber the formal declaration of Charles's majority. The ceremonies of the aſſembly were ſimilar to thoſe already recited on other occaſions. The queen mother, in teſtimony of her reſignation of the regency, kneeled before the king, who deſcended from the throne to embrace her. The king's brothers, the princes of the blood, and the peers, having done homage on their knees, advanced towards the throne according to their rank, and kiſſed his majeſty's hand. The late edict of Amboiſe was ratified, and the obſervance of it enjoined, until, from the iſſue of the council of Trent, and the king's future deliberation, his royal pleaſure ſhould be further declared. An arret paſſed for diſarming the cities and towns; and it was declared high treaſon to hold ſecret correſpondence with foreign ſtates.

ſhe obtains a declaration of Charles's majority before the parliament of Rouen:

Aug. 14.

IT need not be doubted that the chancellor de l'Hoſpital believed that, by abridging the king's minority, in the preſent circumſtances of government, he had conſulted the honour and the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy, and the public benefit of the kingdom. To explain and obviate doubtful queſtions and difficulties, about the order of ſucceſſion to the crown, was ſurely the part of

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a good ſtateſman, and an office of the higheſt importance and utility. The regulation he promoted at this time, has ever ſince been followed in France; and, in the experience of three minorities, which have now happened, no inconveniencies have been found to reſult from it. The chancellor's * advice, not to require the declaration of Charles's majority in the parliament of Paris, appears alſo to have been dictated from a view to another point, beſides that of the expedition of the buſineſs. It was intended to check the preſumptuous and intractable behaviour of that court. If we reflect on the ſeveral inſtances that have caſt up, from the beginning of this reign, of the wayward conduct of its members, and their unreaſonable oppoſition to the reſolutions of the ſtate, and their extreme violence in religious queſtions; it will not ſeem ſurpriſing, that de l'Hoſpital, the favourer of their privileges, ſhould be diſguſted, and think they merited the affront that was now put upon them. They ſenſibly felt the ſting of it; and, by endeavouring to expreſs their impatience and animoſity, they expoſed themſelves to a more direct indignity. When de Lanſac was ſent to demand of them the regiſtration of the act of majority, and the other edicts, they were prepared to appoint deputies to make their remonſtrances. The diſparagement of their ſuper-eminent juriſdiction was the main point upon which their expoſtulations turned. The firſt preſident, de Thou, Prevot, and Viol, inſiſted, before the king, that it was a tranſgreſſion of all former cuſtoms and precedents, to verify and publiſh, in the firſt reſort, any royal edict in another parliament, than that of Paris, which had been the original and model of all the reſt; and, by a combination of the privileges and dignities of the ſeveral orders of the ſtate, had the

which being deemed an irregular procedure,

* D'Aubigne, liv. iv. chap. 3.

diſtinctive

distinctive rank and title of the court of peers, that antient and primary judicature of the kingdom. What they added about the edict of Amboise being a licence and approbation of sectaries, and against disarming the citizens of Paris, tallied with their spleen, and their adherence to former maxims and popular arguments for supporting their opposition to the court. They found reason to repent their error, in pushing it to such a length. It was the determined purpose of the court to give them an authoritative repulse. The young king, instructed how to answer the deputies, first required the members of the council, who were present, to declare whether advice had not been taken about authenticating the act in the chamber of Rouen. When this was averred, Charles, early accustomed to the rehearsal of speeches in the commanding style, assumed this tone, and told them, "that he would not bear that the counsellors of law in the chambers of Paris should now behave as they had done in his minority; that their original and proper function was to dispense civil justice, to which it became them to be confined, and to entertain no longer that antient prejudice of their being coadjutors of the royalty, the protectors of the kingdom, and the guardians of the city of Paris; and that, having once remonstrated to him, it was their duty to think of nothing more than submission to his will." When he pronounced this, it was visible how natural it was to Charles to throw anger into his looks. But this was not sufficient to intimidate the parliament; which, after hearing the report of their delegates, still debated the registration, and, being divided in opinion, appointed a new deputation to the king. Their resistance became a direct trial of the authority of the court. It was necessary to take the strongest step to surmount it. A great council of state was called to controul their obstinacy by a decree,

the parliament of Paris opposes the registration of the act.

BOOK IV. 1563. decree, which annulled the procedure of the counſellors, and required them, under the penalty of interdiction from their office, to regiſter the edict without any reſtrictory clauſe, and to eraſe the record of their arrogant procedure. The parliament then deſiſted from the dangerous contention, and ſubmitted to the king's com-

Sept. 26. mand. In this paſſage we ſee a picture, two hundred years old, which correſponds exactly to what is tranſacted at the preſent time in the parliaments of France.

A queſtion conſidered about the pre-eminence of the parliament of Paris.

THERE is a queſtion not eaſily determined, with reſpect to the authority and privilege of the other parliaments compared with that of Paris, which has an evident connexion and reference to the foundation of the diſpute here related. The other chambers have contended, that though detached from the body of the parliament of Paris, they are to be conſidered as forming together with it the ſupreme civil juriſdiction of the kingdom, and as conſtituent parts of the ſame court of peers. They have equal privilege of regiſtering the king's edicts, or of remonſtrating to the ſovereign; and the prior addreſs of his general arret to the parliament of Paris may be regarded as a matter of form, ariſing from cuſtom rather than conſtitutional pre-eminence. The preſent inſtance of the declaration of the king's majority in the parliament of Rouen, in preference to that of Paris, though complained of by the latter, favours the opinion of the uſage being arbitrary and variable. As the king may alſo be ſuppoſed to hold his bed of juſtice in any of the provincial parliaments, which imports the attendance of the princes of the blood, and the peers of France; it may be inferred that thoſe chambers are partakers, in every reſpect, with the parliament of Paris, in the dignity and the privilege of the court of peers, and that the only diſtinction to be found between them conſiſts

ſiſts in the different extent of their civil juriſdictions. But this idea of the preciſe equality of the French parliaments in prerogative, and of the conſtitution of a court of peers, being common to them all, appears a refinement that cannot be maintained, in oppoſition to an opinion derived from received cuſtoms and regulations. From eſtabliſhed uſage, the peers of France have their proper ſeſſions in the parliament of Paris, and their court has been long comprehended in it. The trial and deciſion of cauſes concerning their claims of honour, their rights and properties, their loyalty and their lives, are its natural and manifeſt province, and can have no other regular reſort. In conſequence of this comprehenſion of the juriſdiction of the peers, it judges ſolely of the rights of the crown, and of the *regale*, from the cognizance of which the other chambers of parliament are excluded. But it is ſufficient to have taken notice of a queſtion, which, though ſtarted in ſome of the late conteſts with the parliaments in France, may be reckoned purely ſpeculative, as no political conſequence has yet appeared to ariſe from it. Only ſome of the other parliaments ſeem induced, from the notion of the equality of their conſtitution to that of the chamber of Paris, to vie with it in maintaining their privileges, and to aſſert their liberty of remonſtrating in all caſes to the king, independently of it. In the period of the preſent hiſtory, and for a long tract of time, the proceedings of the parliament of Paris generally gave the tone to the reſt; but, if we judge from ſome late incidents, the caſe appears now to be altered.

IT is juſtly obſerved by a modern * French hiſtorian, that the court of France at this time reſembled the dramatic repreſentations of the theatre, in which ſome new ſcene or material incident ſtill

* P. Daniel, tom. v. p. 803.

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casts up, sufficient to keep the spectators in suspence for the issue of the main action. The first taste of peace, after the taking of Havre, and the apparent cessation of faction, did not hinder the intervention of a scene at court, which exemplified the restless spirit that prevailed. Scarce was the king returned from Rouen to Paris, when the eyes of the people were struck with a group of sorrowful figures, which marched slowly through the streets to the Louvre. These were the aged mother, the widow, and the children of the late duke of Guise in their mourning robes *. They were followed by a train of women, with their faces veiled in black, and by a numerous company of the kindred and friends of the family, with the composed looks and gestures of sorrow. The Parisian multitude gazed on this spectacle, while the catastrophe of the duke's murder rushed afresh into their minds, and were drawn after it to the gates of the palace, where the whole company of mourners fell down on their knees before the young king, and petitioned for justice to be done upon the accomplices of the duke's horrid assassination, at a time when he exposed his life for the catholic religion and the royalty. To this application, accompanied with the circumstance of the tumultuous exclamations of the populace, Charles replied in general terms, "that he would consider what ought to be done, and make it his business to cause justice to be executed on the subject of their complaint in a convenient time." The intention of this parade was sufficiently plain; and it was well known against whom the family of Guise laid their accusation. Though now the admiral Coligni was not named, they had before arraigned him so openly, that the prince of Condé thought himself obliged to take a † protestation, with respect to this charge against

The duke of Guise's widow and children appear before the king,

soliciting justice for his assassination:

* Thuan. ibid. p. 703. D'Avila, ibid.

† Thuan. ibid. p. 699.

the

the admiral before the privy council. He inſiſted, that the Guiſes ſhould either be commanded to forbear their aſperſions, or to proſecute their impeachment in a legal manner, declaring that all other treacherous attacks of Coligni he would revenge, as done againſt his kinſman and firſt friend. The marſhal Montmorency, in his own name, and that of the conſtable his father, and all his family, adhered to the prince's proteſtation. From the firſt inſtance of the accuſation, the admiral had demanded a judicial trial, but refuſed the tribunal of the parliament of Paris. The great council of ſtate was propoſed by the king to judge the cauſe, which the family of Guiſe as peremptorily declined; and both the parties made exceptions to the king's privy council. The queen mother and the court, apprehenſive of the revival of freſh contention in the determination of an affair, which already excited the ſpirit of party, adviſed the revocation of the judgment of it to the king himſelf, by whoſe authority all procedure in it was ſuſpended for three years. But the interlude of the proceſſion had the effect, to warm the affections of the Pariſians to the children and family of their favourite chieftains, and gave occaſion to the zealous eccleſiaſtics to retouch in their ſermons the affecting ſubject of the martyrdom of the duke of Guiſe, and to animate the people againſt thoſe that had been his adverſaries.

1563.

But, to prevent the eruption of new diſſenſions, the cauſe is evoked to the judgment of the king himſelf.

1564.

THE more concentric movement of the managers of the helm of government, and the recognizance of the king's majority, having now produced a calm in the court; the chancellor thought it a proper conjuncture for compoſing the various internal diſorders of the kingdom. That many confuſions, political and civil, prevailed in the provinces, and ſeveral obſtacles to the intire eſtabliſhment of the public peace ſtill remained; the ſlighteſt reflexion on

Book IV. 1564.

To compoſe the remaining diſorders, and eſtabliſh the public peace,

the preceding hiſtory may be ſufficient to diſcover. The exceptions made by ſome of the parliaments to the tenor of the late edict of toleration, the different readings of it, and the difficulties that caſt up in effectuating its execution, were matters that required immediate regard and diſcuſſion. It was reſolved in the council to apply the authority of the ſtate, in its neareſt acceſs and energy, to the termination of thoſe diſputes, by the king and court making a progreſſion through the provinces of the kingdom. It was thought that the appearance of the young ſovereign, in various parts of his dominions, might not only prove a check to ſedition, but revive and quicken the principles of loyalty and obedience to the government. To thoſe motives, which prompted the chancellor to this reſolution, queen Catherine joined other views that were ſuitable to the political caſt of her own mind. Beſides an opportunity of ſpying more narrowly the procedure of the governors of the chief cities and provinces, and making ſuch changes among them as might be judged neceſſary, ſhe had projected a conference with her daughter the queen of Spain, on the confines of the two kingdoms, and propoſed to hold interviews with ſome of the German princes. Perhaps Catherine ſhewed the reach of her policy in the propoſitions ſhe made about thoſe conferences, as much as in any other inſtance. At the council of Trent they were made uſe of to appeaſe the pope, who expected a league of the catholic princes for the extirpation of hereſy would reſult from them. But Catherine was diſpoſed not to embark too far in thoſe projects, or to riſque the ſudden embroiling of the kingdom, unleſs every thing was granted her, and concurring circumſtances gave her aſſurance of ſucceſs. While the age of the king her ſon was yet immature, it appeared unſeaſonable and hazardous to throw

it is propoſed that the king ſhould make the circuit of the provinces;

the

1564.

the ſtate into confuſion *. She was the more confirmed in this reſolution, when ſhe ſaw arrive, in the beginning of the year at Fountainbleau, an embaſſy from the king of Spain, the pope, and the duke of Savoy, ſent on purpoſe to make an unanimous requeſt to the king for the publication of the decrees of the council of Trent, which only a month before had been concluded. Though the propoſal of a congreſs at Nancy in Lorain, among the catholic powers, afforded a pretence for it, queen Catherine and her counſellors had ſufficient reaſon to look upon an application, ſo ill timed and precipitant, to be the progeny of the intrigues of the cardinal of Lorain, and the zealous partizans of the papal power at court, who laboured to ſubvert the peace. The procedure of the ſovereign pontiff with reſpect to the queen of Navarre, was a convincing proof of the diſpoſition of the court of Rome, to expoſe the principality of Bearn as a prey to the catholic king. As ſhe had expelled the catholic prieſts, and eſtabliſhed the proteſtant worſhip in the churches of her eſtates; Pius IV. had iſſued a monitory againſt her, in which ſhe was menaced with immediate excommunication, and the forfeiture of her territories to the firſt catholic potentate, who ſhould ſeize them. A regard to the honour and intereſt of the crown of France, which were both concerned in the protection of the queen of Navarre's rights, prevailed with Catherine to declare openly againſt this arbitrary invaſion of them. The ſenſe of the pope's vehement conduct, and of his partiality to Spain, rendered her more circumſpect, and ſuſpicious with reſpect to the combination of thoſe powers in the preſent embaſſy. The nature and import of the requiſitions made by them, might well be deemed a plain inſult on the government of France. They

February.

and, in the mean time, envoys come from Rome and Spain,

to demand the publication of the decrees of the council of Trent;

* Addit. aux Caſtel. liv. vi. chap. 1. Thuan. lib. xxxv. p. 717. D'Aubigne, liv. iv. chap. 4.

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amounted to a formal condemnation of all the late meaſures, and an arrogant preſcription of a different ſyſtem and courſe of political management. Beſides the demand for the publication of the council, the envoys inſiſted, in name of their maſters, that there ſhould be no alienation of the church revenues in France authorized; from which fund, they declared the courts of Spain and Savoy accounted it ſacrilegious to receive the acquittance of the ſums due to them, and that the legal chaſtizement of heretics, by baniſhment or corporal penalties, ſhould be reſumed, and the general indemnity granted by the pacification ſhould be revoked, and the contrivers of the murther of the duke of Guiſe proſecuted with rigour, and brought to condign puniſhment. Such indecent and prepoſterous demands, which conveyed the tainted breath of faction, would in other times have been treated with a high degree of contempt. But the king's council was ſatisfied with directing him to make the following general reply. That it was his innate and inviolable principle to perſevere in his attachment and fidelity to the apoſtolic church of Rome, and the maxim of his government to engage his ſubjects to conformity with it; that he had eſtabliſhed a domeſtic peace to eject foreign enemies, and that now he had nothing more at heart than to diſpenſe juſtice to all his people. When the ambaſſadors importuned the court for a more diſtinct anſwer, they were told the king choſe to deliberate upon it, in a meeting of the principal nobles and ſenators of his kingdom. The queen mother kept them in ſuſpenſe, ſometimes with ambiguous language; and, by a cuſtomary ſtrain of her policy, thought it convenient to increaſe the jealouſy and apprehenſions the proteſtants entertained about their meſſage, and the reſponſes to it, in hopes of rendering that party more tractable and ſubmiſſive to her deſigns.

which is declined by the court.

Febr. 25.

Though

THOUGH natural ſpirit and political circumſpection induced the queen mother to reſiſt the concurrence of other princes to impoſe their admonitions on the government; though, perhaps, ſhe was not inſenſible, that the preſent interpoſition of foreign courts was intended to encourage domeſtic faction, the ſcope and aim of her politics were ſo congenial to the principles of their ſyſtem, that all the honour and advantage ſhe contended for, amounted in the main to that of purſuing it in her own way. This, without doubt, appeared to her a very material point, who had reaſon to be conſcious and vain of her ſkill, in the artificial management of affairs. Perſuaded that by the help of time, and the advantage of peace, ſhe would be enabled to ſtrengthen the power of the government, and give it vigour ſufficient to encounter and cruſh all oppoſition from party; ſhe endeavoured to reach her political ends, under the appearance of promoting the public tranquillity and good of the ſtate *. Before ſhe ſet out with the king on the intended progreſs through the kingdom, the treaty of peace with England was brought to a concluſion, and the articles of it were finiſhed and preſented to the king when he came to Troyes. Inſtead of any mention of the controverted reſtitution of Calais, a general clauſe, reſerving to both crowns their ſeveral rights and claims, was ſubſtituted. Elizabeth, ſtill affecting the ſame nicety about the reſignation of that place, and pretending that her ambaſſadors had exceeded their powers, refuſed at firſt her confirmation of the treaty. But, after having vented this artful language for ſome time, ſhe was ſatisfied with the promiſe of a hundred and thirty thouſand crowns for the releaſe of the hoſtages; and Caſtelnau, who finiſhed the agreement with her, returned to the French

The diſpute with England being accommodated,

* Thuan. ibid. p. 718.

court,

Book IV. 1564. court with a requeſt to the king to accept her compliment of the order of the garter. The renewal of the league with the Helvetic cantons was alſo purchaſed at this time, with a large pecuniary ſubſidy. But queen Catherine was diſappointed of her hopes of an interview with the king of the Romans in the confines of Lorain, which was alledged to have been the principal motive of her journey thither. She had always maintained an amicable correſpondence with this prince, and propoſed, by connecting him with the houſe of France by the marriage of the king to one of his daughters, to enlarge her influence among the German princes. The king of Spain's jealouſy was the chief bar to the interview and alliance. That ſhe might, however, glean ſome occaſional fruits from her expedition, Catherine attempted to bind the duke of Wirtenberg, the count palatine of the Rhine, and Wolfang duke of Deux Ponts, who were proteſtant chieftains, by the civil obligations of penſions from the king, to with-hold their aſſiſtance from the Calviniſts in France. By a ſingularity, her offers of benevolence were rejected by each of thoſe princes. There was only the marquis of Baden, and one of the family of Saxe, that enrolled themſelves her ſtipendaries.

April 20. the king's circuit begins, In the king's circuit of the provinces of the kingdom, which commenced with this excurſion through Champagne to the territories of the duke of Lorain, almoſt two years were employed. As even the contracted journals the hiſtorians have given of it, form an epiſode more inſipid than curious and entertaining, and generally more inſignificant than material and intereſting; it will be neceſſary to comprehend the narrative of the moſt conſiderable occurrences, within the narroweſt bounds. There ſeemed to be a contention between the catholics and proteſtants in many places,

which of them ſhould outſtrip the other in complaints and remonſtrances. The opportunity the approach of the court gave to both parties, to ſtate and declare their grievances, ſtimulated their mutual propenſity to quarrels and diſcord *. The deputies of Burgundy took the liberty to harangue the king againſt the late edict of toleration being extended to their province. The proteſtants preferred a general complaint of the violent oppoſition made in various parts to its eſtabliſhment, and of the injurious treatment they met with. The court having a near view of the contradiction, ſtrife and turbulence which prevailed in ſeveral provinces, when the controverſy about the acceptance of the edict was in its firſt ferment; emitted ſome tranſient corrections, and then a more general interpretation of it at Rouſſillon. All the explicatory and new inſerted clauſes retrenched the liberty of the proteſtants. The allowance of public worſhip to the poſſeſſors of the ſuperior fiefs was interpreted to extend only to their families and immediate vaſſals, and to exclude all occaſional partakers of the benefit of it. They were prohibited to hold ſynods, to open ſchools, or to make private or public collections. The regular prieſts and nuns, who, on their converſion, had entered into the matrimonial ſtate, were required, under the penalty of the gallies, or perpetual confinement, to ſeparate from their ſpouſes and reſume their vows of celibacy and retirement. Theſe reſtrictions, which too much reduced the edict to the appearance of a ſimple conceſſion in favour of the nobility, diminiſhed the idea and enjoyment of public toleration, and ſubjected the proteſtants to various hardſhips, could not fail to create particular offence and diſcontent. The prince of Condé, who thought himſelf anſwerable in honour for the due maintain-

in which the new edict of Rouſillon is paſt;

* Thuan. ibid. D'Aubigne, ibid.

ance

BOOK IV. 1564.

ance of the articles of it, tranſmitted to the court a remonſtrance on the ſubject of the innovations, and the improper checks and palpable infringements, by which the edict was ſubverted. The anſwer given him, which was amicable and mild, though not ſatisfactory, ſhewed it to be dictated by the chancellor de l'Hoſpital; who, by ſuggeſting thoſe emendations, ſtudied to convince the court, that the proteſtants might be tolerated, and at the ſame time reſtrained, within ſuch reaſonable bounds as the government choſe to preſcribe to them. The procedure upon this maxim ſoothed the queen mother, and gave that air of authority to the government ſhe deſired, and furniſhed her with a ſpecious anſwer to the catholic princes, who excepted againſt the pacification as derogatory to the honour of the crown. To preſerve the dignity of the court, and of the eſtabliſhed religion, the public meetings of the proteſtants were forbid in all the places through which the king paſſed. In other reſpects, the court had reaſon to repreſs the unruly zeal of the catholics; who, in ſome provinces, had formed aſſociations and fraternities among them, to defend themſelves and their religion againſt the ſectaries. In one of theſe, inſtituted in Burgundy, with the title of the ſociety of the Holy Ghoſt, the devotees took an oath never to live in peace with the proteſtants. The praiſes of the king of Spain were frequently heard from the pulpits, and his zealous aſſertion of true catholic principles was propoſed as a pattern that ought to be imitated by the young king and the government in France. Thoſe early and faint effluvia of the ſpirit of the famous catholic league could be obſerved, but the conſequences of them were not conſidered at this time. It was ſufficient employment for the court to prevent the jars and animoſities that prevailed, from burſting forth into open tumults and ſedition. The province of Guienne, embroiled by the management

ment of the count de Candale, the governor, was hardly extricated from an inſurrection, by the appointment of the marſhal Bourdillon in his place. Upon intelligence received of a confederacy being formed by the family of Guiſe, and ſome of their partizans, in conſequence of a conteſt that happened between the cardinal of Lorain and the marſhal Montmorency at Paris; the weakneſs and tremor of the court appeared *. All the nobles preſent being aſſembled before the king, were required to declare what they knew of ſecret cabals and combinations, which threatened diſturbance to the ſtate; and to ſubſcribe an obligation never to engage in them, or take arms without his majeſty's authority. The imbecillity of this meaſure, which can hardly be ſuppoſed to have been adviſed by the chancellor de l'Hoſpital, diſcovered that the queen mother's judgment failed her, in queſtions not levelled to the tract of her artificial policy. Monluc, the military chieftain, ſo far from perceiving the tendency of the device, to confound the original principles of loyalty, and degrade the ſenſe and obligation of allegiance into arbitrary compacts for fidelity, relates, that the counſel he gave to the King on this occaſion was, to condemn and reprobate the offenſive confederacy, and found himſelf a new one, to which all the peers and nobles might be ſworn to adhere. The court having paſſed the winter in Languedoc, proceeded in the ſpring of the following year to Bourdeaux, and from thence to Bayonne, where the queen of Spain was expected to arrive.

BOOK IV. 1565.

May 15.

THE interview at Bayonne was, more than all the other incidents of the progreſſion of the court through the provinces, the ſubject of ſpeculation, both in France and foreign kingdoms.

and the interview of Bayonne takes place. June 10.

* Thuan. lib. xxxvi. p. 737.

BOOK IV. 1565.

Every meaſure taken by Philip II. became at this time of general concern to all the powers of Europe. As nothing appeared inſuperable to his power, or to ſurpaſs the aim and compaſs of his ambition and policy; his deſigns and projects, no leſs than his actions, were ſcanned with the utmoſt attention. The continuance of the council of Trent being an epoch that ſeemed pregnant with various intereſting conſequences, both to catholic and proteſtant ſtates; ſome new political phenomenon was every where expected. As it had given riſe to the propoſal of a league among the catholic princes; the proteſtants were generally ſtruck with an alarm, and thought they beheld, in the congreſs at Bayonne, the image of what they dreaded. It was not believed * that queen Catherine deſigned to carry thither the king and court merely to embrace her daughter, or that Philip had ſent Elizabeth his young queen and the famous Ferdinand duke of Alva, on a journey to the borders of Spain, only for the ſake of viſiting her mother and the houſe of France, and preſenting Charles with the order of the golden fleece. But the commencement of ſome great deſign, for the exciſion of heretics, by the league of the two courts, was inferred to be the real intention of the interview, by the proteſtants in the Low Countries, as well as in France. The beſt catholic hiſtorians allow, that there was ſufficient ground to believe, that from an apprehenſion of the growing diſorders in the Netherlands, and the fear of a correſpondence of the malecontents there with the Hugonots in France, Philip now earneſtly wiſhed to unite with the queen mother, and engage the government to proceed to the demolition of that party; and it is not doubted that Catherine was deſirous to have the catholic king's power for a reſource in the time of her

* Addit. aux Caſtel. liv. vi. chap. 1.

need.

need. That the ſcheme of ſuch a confederacy was treated at Bayonne, is generally agreed. But what the particular import of it was, and how far the contract of the parties proceeded, appears to be uncertain. Notwithſtanding what various * hiſtorians have advanced upon the authority of Baptiſta Hadrian, who is ſaid to have taken his information from the ſecret papers and cyphers of the duke of Florence, that the general maſſacre of the French proteſtants was reſolved on; it is moſt probable that the interview at Bayonne terminated in nothing more poſitive than a general agreement of the two crowns to act in correſpondence, and aſſiſt each other, in extinguiſhing, in their ſtates, the cabals and inſurrections with which they were threatened, whether from a religious or political cauſe. Though the end aimed at by both had been the ſame, as d'Avila juſtly obſerves, the different circumſtances and intereſts of the two parties, hindered a concurrence in the ſame meaſures, or in one plan of procedure. The ſiniſter reports of the private conferences, between the queen mother and the duke of Alva, were not leſs numerous nor leſs credited, becauſe they were not certainly known. By the interview, Catherine gave the proteſtant party too manifeſt a handle for diſtruſt and jealouſy, which they were diſpoſed to improve. Its exterior appearance was a picture of the pomp of the court, and of the entertainments and diverſions of the age. Various ſcenes of carouſals, warlike ballets, ſhews, and pageantries, were every day exhibited. The ſprightly invention and gaiety of the French vied for ſuperiority with the ſtately pride and grave oſtentation of the Spaniards. The poetical compoſitions of Ronſard, who then attended the court, were rehearſed, and formed the interludes of thoſe entertainments.

* D'Aubigne, liv. iv. chap. 5. Thuan. lib. xxxvi. p. 788.

BOOK IV. 1565. From deference and reſpect to the Spaniards, the court waited the end of the interview before the king proceeded to Tarbes, to admit the envoy of Soliman the grand ſeignior to an audience. The court then took its courſe to Nerac, in the queen of Navarre's territories, and from thence, by various ſtages to Blois, where it continued till the beginning of the following year; when an aſſembly of the notables was held at Moulins in the Bourbonois.

While the progreſs thro' the kingdom is continued to the beginning of the year 1566,

AMIDST the frequent accounts received by the court in its progreſs of diſſenſions and broils in different places, the rencounter which enſued at Paris, upon the cardinal of Lorain's entering into the city, occaſioned for ſome time, the moſt ſurprize and conſternation. It was a ſpecimen of the antient feud and jealouſy between the families of Montmorency and Guiſe, not yet wholly extinguiſhed, and which the fooliſh pride of the cardinal tended to provoke. On his return from the council of Trent, from pretence or ſuſpicion of plots againſt his perſon, he had applied for the king's leave to have a guard of men in arms to attend him, and had obtained it. To add to the dignity of his proceſſion towards the metropolis, when on his way from Joinville, he had wrote letters to his brother the duke of Aumale, and others of his kindred, to follow his rout. With this parade he arrived in the ſuburbs, near St. Denis's gate. He received there a meſſage from the marſhal Montmorency, governor of the Iſle of France, that to enter the city with an armed retinue, in the king's abſence, was prohibited by the government; and that it belonged to his office to warn him to deſiſt from ſuch an attempt *. A repulſe at the gates of Paris, where his family had a croud of adherents, was not dreaded by the cardinal; and, without vouchſafing to produce his warrant from the king, he advanced

* Brantome de Connet. Montmorenci.

1565.

a broil between the Guiſes and Montmorencies ariſes in Paris;

into the city. An officer again endeavoured to ſtop him, but he paſſed the gate before the marſhal had reached it, with his train. But in the cardinal's march through the firſt ſtreet, he appeared, and the prince of Porcean, advancing with a troop of horſemen, required thoſe he met in front to ſtop and lay down their arms. A charge enſued on the refuſal, in which one of the cardinal's party fell, and others were diſmounted. Unuſed to ſuch a rencounter, and ſtruck with the fear of a dangerous combat, the cardinal, with his nephew the young duke of Guiſe, quitted their horſes, and took refuge in the neareſt booth of an inn they could find, while their martial bands fled different ways. The marſhal drew off his ſoldiers, and ſtopped further violence. But the retreat from the conteſt was more difficult, and the conſequence to be apprehended from it more dangerous than the fray. But Montmorency had taken his meaſures ſo prudently, by ſtating the matter before the counſellors of parliament, and keeping a conſtant watch over the citizens, that all tumult was prevented till next day, when, after ſome altercation and alternate threats, the cardinal was ſuffered, on the production of his mandate, and the giving up a liſt of his retinue, to depart with his guards out of the city. The duke of Aumale, by hovering about with his followers, appeared to meditate ſome revenge. The admiral Coligni, being ſent for by the marſhal, repaired to the city with a conſiderable body of men. As frequent councils of the chief officers and magiſtrates were held, and the parliament was adviſed with about the proper means of averting further diſorder; Coligni took that firſt occaſion he had to appear in that court, after the ceſſation of hoſtilities, to make a ſpeech of compliment to the members of it. This is what d'Avila and ſome other hiſtorians call, his ſetting himſelf up as an oracle, and appearing like a king. The conteſt being terminated, the ſtricter cogni-

zance

Book IV. 1565.

zance of it was avoided by the government. But the partizans on both ſides continued to argue and diſpute about the propriety of the procedure of the two chief antagoniſts. As the marſhal was believed to have been privately informed of the cardinal's permiſſion, the prince of Condé's remark upon his conduct was, that if he was in jeſt, he did too much, and, if in earneſt, he did too little. Where the rule of action is to be drawn from mixed principles, ſuch as thoſe in which the preſent is caſe involved, the ſenſe of duty, the point of honour, and the judicious exertion of authority; the determination with reſpect to it neceſſarily becomes embarraſſed and precarious. But one thing is clear, that the cardinal ought to have avoided expoſing himſelf to be publicly affronted by a perſon that was none of his friends. He engaged, not with more honour, but with better ſucceſs, in a quarrel with Salcede, about publiſhing in the city of Metz letters of protection granted him by the emperor. As upon this occaſion he muſtered all his forces, and beſieged Salcede in a ſmall place, whither he had retired; the action was named the cardinal's war.

and a queſtion about the eſtabliſhment of the jeſuits,

While the court was intent on reſtraining ſuch inſtances of public diſcord and private animoſity, a queſtion was ſtated before the court of parliament, apparently leſs momentuous, but which time afterwards proved to be of the higheſt concern to France and other nations. It reſpected the liberty of the jeſuits to open their ſchools in Paris *; where they had been at firſt ſcarcely tolerated, under the name of the fraternity of the college of Clermont. In Henry II.'s reign a great controverſy had enſued about their freedom, and the new company remained humbled under diſcouragement and oppoſition, till, in the time of Francis II. a mandate was

* Thuan. lib. xxxvi. p. 736.

procured

procured by the cardinal of Lorain from the king's council, approving of their eſtabliſhment. But the matter being ſtill conteſted by the parliament and univerſity of Paris, and remitted to the determination of an eccleſiaſtical council; the cardinal of Tournon brought it before the prelates at the conference of Poiſſi. A decree for their privilege then paſſed, with the reſtrictions inſiſted upon by the parliament, that they ſhould bear the title of a ſociety or college, and not of a new order, and be ſubjected to the authority and juriſdiction of the biſhop of Paris; be regulated by the common law, and incroach in no reſpect on the functions of the other claſſes of the eccleſiaſtics, or the privileges of the univerſities; and even exchange the arrogant deſignation they had taken of the ſociety of Jeſus for ſome other name. But the colleges of Paris having renewed their objections againſt their faculty of teaching and educating the youth, in which they appeared to rival the univerſity; the cauſe came again to be debated before the parliament. Du Moulin, a celebrated civilian, gave his opinion for the proſecution againſt them; and the pleadings of Paſquier, the advocate for the univerſity, and of Verſoris for the ſociety, were famous, and the trial laſted two days. France need not blame the inadvertency or want of foreſight of former times, with reſpect to the conſequences of the reception of this order, which ſoon became the ſubject of many groſs inditements. Whatever diſagreeable or pernicious effects could be ſuppoſed to reſult from the inſtitution of the fraternity; from the peculiarity of their vows and obligations to the pope and their general; from their irregular zeal or exorbitant ambition; from their public addreſs or their private inſinuation; concluſions the moſt diſadvantageous, that could hardly be figured or inferred with any ſhew of probability, were at this time pro-

is diſcuſſed before the parliament of Paris.

Book IV. 1565. nounced to be deducible from the genius of ſuch an order, and the legal eſtabliſhment of it in France*. A Biſcayan officer, who had been lamed in the defence of the citadel of Pampeluna, when the recovery of Navarre was attempted by Francis I. without the elements of literature, unconverſant in clerical diſcipline, or the ways of the church, the famous founder of the Jeſuits, Ignatius Loyola, laboured under no leſs diſadvantages, in purſuing the reveries he had begun in the time of his confinement to entertain, about the honour and glory of erecting a new order of devotees. After an unſucceſsful enterprize of the ſtudy of Latin, by abridging the courſe of it, and his re-entrance to it in the univerſity of Paris, and his fellowſhip with Francis Xavier, Laynes, Salmeron, and others of his countrymen, who had the ſame enthuſiaſtic turn with himſelf; his views were long perplexed how to rear his ſtandard, and court the crown of martydom, by procuring a miſſion to the infidel nations in all places of the globe. Xavier, at the requeſt of the king of Portugal, was deputed by the pope to be the miſſionary to the Indies; while Loyola, in company with Faber, Laynes, and other diſciples, choſe to pave the way to their ſpiritual warfare, by diſcovering their ardour, their extacies, and their proficiency in ſaintly diſcipline at the gates of Rome. For ſome time thoſe meritorious exerciſes were inſufficient to recommend them to the conclave; and the cardinal of Lucca was induced to write a treatiſe againſt the increaſe of religious orders. But their vow of abſolute obedience, and attachment to the ſervice of the ſovereign pontiff, being a teſtimony of ſupererogation too ſignal to be undervalued; Paul III. granted the bull of their inſtitution, with a proviſion, however, that their number ſhould not exceed ſixty; which clauſe

* D'Aubigne, liv. iii. chap. 24.

too

two years after, upon Ignatius being declared general of his order, was cancelled. In his lifetime he ſaw them conſiderably increaſed in number, and in a flouriſhing condition. In one reſpect, as much perhaps as in any other, Ignatius ſhewed his care and vigilance over his infant order. Elizabeth Roſella, a female patroneſs of his in Barcelona, preſented herſelf along with ſome attendants of her ſex at Rome, and inſiſted to be admitted to the vows, and enliſted in the devout community. From the ſuperintendance of women, Ignatius requeſted to be excuſed; and, on this article, obtained for the ſociety an exemption, which, ungranted by the pope, might have made a conſiderable variation in the genius and adventures of the jeſuits. The books of Ignatius, and other particulars of his life, diſcover him to have been, what all the founders of religious orders may moſt probably be reckoned, more fanatical, than an adept in policy. But that character was the fitteſt of the two to procure them favour and ſucceſs. The parliament of Paris choſe to delay giving ſentence in the preſent proceſs againſt the jeſuits, who in the mean time were allowed to uſe the privilege of their ſchools. Their vehement enmity to the proteſtants, whom they were thought deſtined to vanquiſh, had all along ſupported their credit; and, notwithſtanding all the arguments againſt them, it turned the ſcale of judgment on this occaſion in their favour. In the ſame manner afterwards, though they were generally complained of, frequently attacked, and ſometimes baniſhed from France, they ſtill, at ſome ſeaſonable juncture, recovered their footing. But the extinction of their order, and their intire expulſion from the kingdom, may be ſuppoſed completed, by the procedure of the preſent government of France againſt them.

Book IV.

1566.

CHAP. IV.

Convention of the notables *at Moulins—Edict for reforming the French laws—Deſign of Catherine to draw the proteſtant chiefs into ſecurity—Her purpoſe prevented by them—Attempt to ſurprize the court at Monçeaux—The king conducted to Paris by the Swiſs.*

February.

A convention of the notables being aſſembled at Moulins,

THE convention of the notables, or as they are called, the little ſtates, appointed at Moulins, appeared to be a proper ſequel of the ſurvey of the provinces of the kingdom*. The deſign of reconciling the Colignis and the marſhal Montmorency with the family of Guiſe, is alledged to have been the principal inducement of the court to this meaſure. But the chancellor did not forget to make uſe of ſuch an opportunity for conſulting the general good of the realm of France. It may be imagined what he muſt have felt on the review of the kingdom, whoſe affections and ſtudy were bent on the public welfare, and who ceaſed not, in the turbulence of the ſtate, to promote legiſlation and the authority of the laws; when he beheld every where palpable marks of civil confuſion and anarchy. Having revolved in his mind the various defects and abuſes of the political government, and of the adminiſtration of the laws throughout the kingdom; the catalogue of them, with the hints of proper remedies, was rehearſed by him in the preſent aſſembly, conſiſting of the chief nobility, of the deputies of the parliaments, and other ſuperior courts of the nation. As the capital errors and defects of the ſyſtem of the French law, and of the procedure of the judges, would, from the relaxed authority of the government, appear to the chancellor, in the moſt ſtriking light; it is not wonderful to find, in the general ſummary given of his

* Thuan. lib. xxxvii. p. 781.

animadverſions

animadverſions on them, that he thought the moſt fundamental alterations, and changes in the conſtitutions of the courts, might be neceſſary to aboliſh them. The ſale of the offices of judicature, which was an emolument of the crown revenue, had occaſioned the multiplication of them, and the frequent erection of ſuperfluous chambers and benches of juſtice; and this augmentation of the number of courts had a certain tendency to increaſe the lawſuits; and this encouragement of proceſſes was rendered a yoke more intolerable, from the prevailing uſage of gratuities and preſents, which were made to the judges themſelves. Such were the unpromiſing appearances of the fountains of the law, more liable to reprehenſion, than capable of a remedy. To new mould and rectify the whole ſtructure, ſupported by the force of inveterate cuſtom, and the political circumſtances of the government, was impracticable. But all that could be done, to amend the groſs irregularities, was performed de l'Hoſpital *. After deliberation with the counſellors of parliament, and the other judges, he had the honour to digeſt, with their approbation, a compend of regulations, for the procedure of the courts, and the diſpatch of judicial proceſſes, comprehended under eighty-ſix heads; and which, being ſoon after ratified in the parliament of Paris, and publiſhed under the name of the edict of Moulin, became the gloſſary of the law, and was afterwards generally adopted in all the ſupreme and inferior judicatures of the kingdom. Some particular ordinances of it may be afterwards mentioned in their place. This aſſembly of Moulins concluded with the formal compromiſe of the contention between the family of Guiſe and the Colignis; and the adjuſt-

The chancellor frames and gets enacted a famous edict, for reforming the French laws.

* Thuan. ibid.

Book IV. 1566.

ing of the late burſt of diſſention at Paris, between the cardinal of Lorain, and the marſhal Montmorency. As the lord of Cipierre, the king's governor, a little before he died, had predicted the moſt fatal diſorders to the ſtate, from the ſubſiſtence of thoſe quarrels, and warned the court to provide againſt them; the queen mother and her counſellors made it a ſerious affair, to bring the parties to an apparent ſubmiſſion of their diſcords. In the exterior part, nothing ſeemed wanting to complete the agreement. The admiral purged himſelf upon oath, from the imputation of being acceſſory to the duke of Guiſe's death, and the Guiſes ſtruck hands with him in the king's preſence. The hiſtorians are not agreed about the part the young duke acted, nor indeed whether he was preſent. The widow had now laid aſide her mourning apparel, to eſpouſe the duke of Nemours †. It was a triumph, as well as a conſolation in her circumſtances, to gain a nobleman reckoned the handſomeſt and moſt accompliſhed of the age, in perſon and manners; in oppoſition to the pretenſions of Madame de Rohan, who found neither her charms, nor the force of a private contract of marriage, nor the tender fruit of her paſſion, of influence ſufficient to retain Nemours in his plighted fidelity. It was the dread of the reſentment of the king of Navarre, her couſin, which was the real ſecret of his elopement from the court; when, as has been already hinted, he was ſaid to have entered into a plot to carry off the duke of Orleans into Lorain. His offence was obliterated by the civil wars, and his obligation of adherence to the ducheſs of Rohan, in ſpite of all the intereſt of the queen of Navarre, was pronounced by the judges at Moulins, to be null and invalid.

† Brantome de Nemour. Addit. aux Caſtel. liv. iii. chap. 9.

WHILST

1566.

WHILST the queen mother and the court, maintained the appearances of amicable correſpondence with the prince of Condé, and the chief lords of his party; the ſparks of diſcord between the catholics and proteſtants, were blown into no conſiderable flame. The complaints of the innovations of the general edict, of the inexecution or contraventions of it, or the bias ſhewn by the court, to favour the catholics in their domination over the adverſaries of the true faith, and the various controverſies and quarrels raiſed on both ſides, were overuled, and heard only like the hollow ſound of the ſea, by the rolling of the waves after a ſtorm *. The deputation of Boucart by the proteſtant nobility, to preſent to the king, at Angoulême, a particular reſcript of the injuries and grievances they ſuffered, and to intreat the prevention of a fatal recourſe to extremities, which was the boldeſt note of indignation expreſſed by that party, gave the court leſs concern and ſolicitude, than the prince of Condé's remonſtrance on the ſubject; and was anſwered in a like indefinite manner, and with more indifference. The re-eſtabliſhment † of the public exerciſe of the catholic religion in Berne, and the viſcounty of Foix, which the queen of Navarre had reſtrained in thoſe her territories, was effectuated by the king's authority; and even in the laſt of the diſtricts, where an attempt was made to invade the privilege of the proteſtants, and the inſults of the catholics provoked a violent tumult, the judgment of the cauſe, and the puniſhment of the ſedition, were at laſt reſigned by the will of the court to the parliament of Thoulouſe; that tribunal, ever notorious for inhuman zeal againſt the proteſtants. In this manner the court found the ſway of its power, ſuperior to the general turbulence. The queen

The queen mother appearing to have only the confirmation of the public peace in view,

September.

amuſes the proteſtant chiefs;

* Thuan. lib. xxxvi. p. 740. † Ibid. xxxvii. p. 784.

mother,

Book IV. 1566.

mother, not afraid of a conſpiracy of the members, whilſt the heads of the murmuring party appeared to be ſatisfied, had endeavoured to ſhape her addreſs, and in ſome reſpects to turn her political conduct in a way that might diſſipate their ſuſpicions, and draw them into ſecurity ‡. What ſeemed a deficiency, in the fulfilment of her liberal promiſes to the prince of Condé at the peace, ſhe ſtudied to compenſate by leſſer marks of favour and regard. Requeſts diſagreeable or inconvenient, ſhe excuſed herſelf from anſwering, otherwiſe than by delay, and pleading her incapacity from the circumſtances of the ſtate, to grant them. She appeared to apply herſelf wholly to the eſtabliſhment of public peace, and to œconomy in the revenues of the crown; and to perſuade even the moſt diſtruſtful that ſhe had no other ſecret views; a part of the troops in the pay and ſervice of the government, contrary to the advice of ſome of the council, were at this time diſbanded.

and endeavours to draw them into ſecurity.

To ſupport for any courſe of time, the ſhew of ſincere concord with a party not really favoured, when the intercourſe with it is cloſe, and the trials of amity are often repeated, muſt be owned the moſt difficult experiment of diſſimulation. The queen mother made ſuch an attempt at this time, and failed in it. If the jealouſy the proteſtants had conceived of her, had been leſs violent than it was in the preſent juncture, the ſphere of action in which ſhe was now placed, ſerved to mark, in ſpite of her oblique procedure, the aim and tendency of her political management. Regarded as the arbiter of all the reſolutions and deciſions of government, the allowance formerly made for her attention to preſerve her authority, and her involuntary compliance with the exceſſes of party ſpirit, did

‡ D'Avila, liv. iv. Caſtelnau.

not

not avail her. The particular inſtances of favour and partiality ſhewn to the catholic chiefs at court, as well as what could be obſerved of the general turn of the cabinet politicks the ſame way, were placed wholly to the account of her influence. The courſe of affairs introduced ſeveral critical queſtions; in the deciſion of which it was almoſt impoſſible for her to conceal the train of her deſigns, much leſs to avoid giving diſtruſt and ſuſpicion to thoſe who narrowly inſpected her conduct. Without mentioning the affair * of Charri, who, being captain of the foot regiment lately formed for the king's guards, and having refuſed to receive orders from d'Andelot colonel of French infantry, was ſupported by the queen and the council in this meaſure; which occaſioned his death; the uſage of the prince of Condé in his ſuit for the conſtable's office, which Montmorency deſired to reſign, was ſufficient to demonſtrate the reſerve and averſion of the court to his advancement. The queen mother thought ſhe had hit on an artful contrivance, with reſpect to the diſpoſal of that commiſſion, which could give reaſonable offence to none of the competitors for it. The old conſtable's intention was to ſurrender it in favour of the marſhal his ſon. The queen had objections to him; but not to diſoblige the conſtable by a flat repulſe, it was ſignified to him to be the king's pleaſure, that whenever his charge was vacated, it ſhould be ſupplied in no other way than by the appointment of her ſon the duke of Anjou to the office of lieutenant general of the army. This turn given to the refuſal with ſome gratification to the marſhal, anſwered the queen's deſign, and pacified the conſtable. It might have had the ſame effect with reſpect to the prince of Condé's pretenſions to the office; which, with Montmorency's

But amidſt various critical queſtions,

finds it difficult to conceal her real deſign;

* Brantome Diſc. ſur les Colto. d'Infant.

conſent,

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consent, was now solicited by him. But to frustate his application, the queen went a step further. Not satisfied with barring him from the office, she unwarily sought after a triumph over his disappointment. The duke of Anjou her favourite son, whom, at the age of fifteen, she had brought to preside on some occasions, at the council table, was instigated by her to shew his manly spirit, by resenting against the prince of Condé his supposed presumption, in standing in competition with him †. At St. Germain des Prez, in the view, though not in the hearing of the courtiers, who attended, the prince of Condé was called aside by Anjou, and not only braved in a haughty manner, but insulted with such menacing language, that the meanest officer of the court would have thought himself obliged in honour to ask redress on account of it, or to retire.

To rekindle a civil war, less than half the motives requisite to its first eruption, may be deemed sufficient. However tardy its first access may have been, the return to discord and hostile commotion is apt to be sudden and precipitant. The parties are not only ranged, and animated against each other, but the difficult tract and all the resources of war are obvious, and known to the weakest side ‡. But the cloud which gathered in France was the more abruptly turned into a storm, by the preparations the catholic king now made, to send a Spanish army into the Netherlands. From what has been already observed, of the general attention of all the protestant states to the designs of Philip II.; it may be understood, in what connexion this remarkable measure stood with the posture of the French parties. From the contiguity of the frontier towns, the similarity of their sufferings, and some correspondence, there

which becoming suspected to the protestant chiefs,

† Brantome, ibid. ‡ Thuan. lib. xxxix. p. 825.

arose

aroſe a ſympathy between the proteſtants in France, and thoſe in the Low Countries. What was generally credited among them, about the interview at Bayonne, had augmented its efficacy. They dreaded, not without reaſon, a confederacy of the two crowns againſt them; and began to apprehend they might ſhare one common fate. Hence anxiety, agitation, the hurry of jealous fears, and the perplexity of doubtful appearances, prevailed among the body of the French proteſtants, and affected their chiefs; in proportion to the rumours ſpread of the formidable armament of the catholic king, and the march of the duke of Alva, along the frontiers of France, into the Belgic provinces. Senſible of the alarm the increaſing noiſe of this event would excite, the queen mother was prepared to obviate and ſilence it, by the utmoſt ſketch of her political craft. Feigning an apprehenſion of the purpoſes of the court of Spain, and appearing to reſent the approach of the Spaniſh forces to the borders of the kingdom; ſhe adopted the language, and ſeemed to concur with the ſentiments of the proteſtant chiefs, and thoſe who inſiſted on the neceſſity of putting the ſtate in a poſture of defence. A commiſſion for hireing ſix thouſand Swiſs was given, and ſome troops were levied in the Lioneſe, and ordered to march towards the ſide of Italy *. D'Avila deſcribes the contexture of her policy to be ſo myſteriouſly framed, that the pope, and the ſtate of Venice, conceived the utmoſt ſuſpicions of her conduct. But it ſeems from the ſame authority, that while ſhe dazzled foreign courts by her ambiguities, matters were not carried with equal ſmoothneſs at home. The young king is ſaid to have been highly provoked with the preſumption of the prince of Condé, and the admiral; and to have anſwered an embaſſy, ſent from ſome of

on account of the duke of Alva's marching into the Low Countries,

and other reaſons;

* Liv. iv.

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the proteſtant princes in Germany to implore favour to their brethren, with harſhneſs and diſdain. The iſſue of things ſoon ſhewed that all the queen's ſtratagems could not divert the impending combuſtion; and perhaps, her over-acting her part contributed to their abortion. When ſhe found, that at the ſolicitation of the principal leaders of the proteſtant party, ſhe could draw foreign troops into the kingdom, and that the gratification of their requeſts coincided with the means of promoting her ſecret deſigns; ſhe became too ſecure, and confident in the effect of her diſſimulation, and narrowly eſcaped being herſelf ſurpriſed, by the conſpiracy of thoſe, whom ſhe thought to have drawn into a ſnare.

they prepare to prevent.

And while the court preſumed on their inattention,

The ſecurity of the court, and the want of diſtinct intelligence of the machinations of the diſcontented party at this juncture, are extremely remarkable. Beſides that this latter circumſtance ſeldom happens in civil commotions, ſome previous alarms, mentioned by the hiſtorians, may be reckoned ſufficient to have awaked circumſpection †. At Lions the proteſtants were ſuſpected to have run a mine or cave, ſome hundred paces under ground, along the principal ramparts of the city. It was in all probability nothing more than the remains of an antient aqueduct which was diſcovered; and excited the apprehenſions of the catholics. When the duke of Alva began his march from Lombardy, Mouvans had raiſed eight hundred men, and thrown them into Geneva; and even an attempt had been made by him, to introduce by a ſtratagem a part of thoſe ſoldiers, into the garriſon town of Metz. The proteſtant chiefs had once met for conſultation at Valery, and were again aſſembled at Chatillon ſur Loing. Some general advice about

† D'Aubigne, liv. iv. chap. 6. D'Avila, ibid.

their

their purpoſes, ſent by Monluc from Guienne, was deſpiſed by the queen mother. The more preciſe information, which Caſtelnau, on his return from Flanders, had picked up from * ſome proteſtant ſoldiers, and communicated to the court, met with no more credit. He was chid by the conſtable Montmorency; and the chancellor told him it was a crime againſt the ſtate to bring falſe intelligence †. It is ſaid that the queen mother, who had directed her obſervations chiefly on the admiral Coligni's motions, was the more deceived, by the report of one of her ſpies, with reſpect to the manner in which he ſaw him employed at Chatillon. Clad in a homely frock, with a pruning knife in his hand, Coligni had mounted a tree in his orchard, and appeared like the peaceful inhabitant of the rural ſhades. The rendezvous had been then agreed upon. At firſt the deſign to renew the ſcene of hoſtilities was ſuſpended, and the admiral's opinion, that they ſhould ſuffer matters to be carried to a greater extremity, prevailed. But from an alteration in the aſpect of things, this paſſive reſolution was ſoon overturned. Six thouſand Swiſs under colonel Fifer, having marched from the borders into the middle of the kingdom, after the duke of Alva had paſſed into Flanders, freſh diſtruſt and animoſity were provoked. The proteſtant chiefs, conſidering that the queen mother concerted meaſures for their deſtruction, determined to make the firſt aſſault. What had been performed by the duke of Guiſe, in the beginning of the late war, appearing to be the beſt pattern, and wiſeſt project for them; it was reſolved that the nobility of their party ſhould draw together, from the provinces neareſt the court, and endeavour to make themſelves maſters of the king's perſon.

they ſecretly take arms,

Auguſt.

* Thuan. lib. xxxix. p. 817. † D'Aubigne, liv. iv. chap. vii.

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and endeavour to surprise the court at Monçeaux.

Sept. 26.

THE court now resided at Monçeaux, a pleasure-house of the queen's in Brye, more confident of the hopeful progress of its political designs, than under a dread of an insurrection of the protestants; when, in the end of September, four years after the pacification of Orleans, this enterprize was formed and attempted. Upon the certain discovery of several parties of men, with their arms concealed, resorting to Chatillon, the court was struck with consternation. The defenceless condition of the court, and the confusion that naturally ensues from surprize, magnified the terror; and all that could be done was to retire into the neighbouring town of Meaux, and expect the arrival of the Swiss, who were commanded to advance from Chatteau, Thiery, and their other quarters, and join the court with the utmost speed. Rosoy, the place where the prince of Condé and his friends had come to their rendezvous, was at near an equal distance from Meaux; and their horse could with more celerity perform the march. In this dangerous perplexity, the queen mother did not forget her usual subterfuge of a conference. The choice of the marshal Montmorency for the manager of it, and even some dispute that had arisen among the commanders of the opposite party, about attacking the Swiss, before they proceeded to environ the court, tended to slacken the expedition, and retard the execution of the enterprize. Immediately after the marshal withdrew from the interview at Torey, the news came of the Swiss being arrived at Meaux. This was a main point gained; but the danger was not removed. In a town meanly fortified, and unprovided with ammunition, and that might quickly be reduced by famine; the king and court were exposed to evident dangen. On the other hand, to march out and take the rout to Paris, which was nine or ten leagues distant, and with a body of foot, unsup-

ported

ported by cavalry, to compoſe a flying camp, which might be continually harraſſed, and aſſailed by the prince of Condé's ſquadrons, appeared to be a more perillous attempt. Perhaps there could not be a more dubious and critical queſtion; which equally required the judgment of a council of war, and of ſtate. The old conſtable, as well as the chancellor, adopting that opinion which ſeemed moſt conſiſtent with the preſent ſafety of the king, pronounced it the wiſeſt courſe to remain in the town, and run all chances there, rather than in the field *. There was even a delicacy in this judgment, to which it was natural for them, as Frenchmen, to attend. Beſides the riſque of the march, and the reliance on foreigners, they apprehended, that by taking the field, the parties might be hurried on to a rencounter; which, however it terminated, would immediately baniſh all hopes of concord. But it was no ſooner underſtood, from a conference the queen mother held with the duke of Nemours, that the march to Paris might be undertaken without much danger, than ſhe ſlighted the reaſons to which ſhe had at firſt ſubmitted; and embraced this bolder ſcheme of defying the forces of the proteſtants. The alacrity and ardour of the Swiſs for the remarkable ſervice, animated this reſolution. Their colonel Fifer preſenting himſelf before the king and council, earneſtly intreated them to prefer the defence of his brave battalions, to the refuge of a weak town. When the point was carried, and the reſolution intimated to the officers and ſoldiers, the air reſounded with the acclamations of joy. Having ſcarce three hours allowed to reſt themſelves, after their late fatigue, they were commanded to be under arms at midnight, and to be ranged in order for the expedition, a mile from the town. At day-break the king and queen, with the whole train of their attendants, being

But by the gallant behaviour of a body of Swiſs, that arrived at Meaux,

* Thuan. ibid. p. 828.

received

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received into the centre of their battalia, they proceeded to march on with all the appearances of intrepidity and martial ſpirit. The danger they had to face, was indeed much greater in apprehenſion than in reality. The prince of Condé's troops, not a ſixth part of their number, hardly equalled the bands of the royal guards, the archers, and the retinue of the nobleſſe of the court. But as Brantome obſerves, it was the vigour of their charge, and the undaunted valour of their leaders, that rendered them formidable. Two or three leagues from Meaux, they appeared in ſeveral ſquadrons; and having the opportunity of directing their aſſault againſt whatever quarter they choſe, a diviſion of four hundred advanced to fall on the rear of the royaliſts; where the conſtable, and the body of the nobles who were in arms, had taken poſt. The Swiſs ſuddenly halted, and cloſing their files on that ſide, faced about to the enemy; while their ſignal of action, by ſtooping to the ground, run through their ranks, and a foreſt of pikes were reared in their front. By ſuch a body the cavalry were ſoon obliged to wheel away. A ſecond attack, on a different ſide, attended with ſome piſtol ſhots, and brandiſhing of ſwords, and the repetition of ſome feints and ſkirmiſhes in the courſe of the march, proved the whole of the unbloody encounter. While the prince of Condé's horſe withdrew to breathe in ſome neighbouring villages, two hundred cavaliers, under the duke of Aumale, and ſome other lords, arrived from Paris. The conſtable and the chancellor, ſtill anxious of avoiding the accident of a general combat, adviſed that all the light horſe being joined to this body, the king and the royal family ſhould proceed the ſhorteſt way, under their eſcort to Paris. Having ſet forward accordingly, they arrived in the city the ſame night. But, though the danger from the enterprize of the proteſtants, was without much difficulty ſurmounted, the impreſſion of it remained.

the project is defeated;

1567. and the king ſafely conducted to Paris.

What had been foreſeen, and feared by the moderate courtiers, and * as it is alledged, deſired and promoted by the cardinal of Lorain, and the zealous party, proved the reſult. The exclamations of the Pariſians at the ſight of the king eſcaped from the hands of the Hugonots, and their aggravated reflexions on the horror of the attempt, joined with Charles's own ſenſation of the violent indignity, added freſh fuel to the former combuſtions of the ſtate, and heightened the rage of the parties againſt each other. Such were the circumſtances of the commencement of the ſecond civil war in France. The apprehenſions of the proteſtant chiefs, with reſpect to the queen mother's deſigns againſt them, impelled them to ſtrike the firſt blow. Her conduct in various reſpects juſtified their ſuſpicions. With tremor and circumſpection, ſhe now followed the ſtandard of the Spaniſh monarch's political procedure, ambitious to reach the height of his arbitrary domination. As the king, and the duke of Anjou, advanced to manhood, and the remaining heads of the zealous catholics became ſcarce the objects of her dread; ſhe ventured the more to adopt their ſyſtem, and diſplay the native bent of her genius in government, which tallied with it. In this light her future appearances are to be viewed. But what paſſed among the neighbouring powers of Europe, in the elapſe of four or five years, may now be recapitulated; and the ſubject be introduced with the progreſs and iſſue of the council of Trent.

* Thuan. ibid.

CHAP. V.

Foreign affairs—History of the council of Trent—Of Germany and Hungary—Of the Low Countries—Of Scotland—Of England—Vacancy of the pontificate supplied by Pius V.*—His character.*

Book IV.

1567. Foreign affairs.

Continuation of the history of the council of Trent.

THE propensity for maintaining the principles of ecclesiastical liberty, which the French nation had often discovered, and the queen mother had encouraged to a pitch, in the time of the interview of Poissi, was remarkably exhibited by the appearances of their ambassadors, at the council of Trent. De Lansae, the president du Ferrier, and Pibrac, who were the envoys of France, exerted themselves with keenness in this way. The passage of a letter, which the first of them wrote to the king's ambassador L'Isle at Rome, is famous. "Take care, said he, that the pope do not verify what is alledged about his secret management of the council, by sending to his legates there *, the holy Ghost in the mails of the couriers." The emperor's ambassadors joined with them in the boldest requisitions for the liberty of the council, and in promoting the private debates about its supreme and independent authority, and the public controversies concerning its being a continuation of the former one, or altogether a new convocation. They insisted that the points of the ecclesiastical discipline and reformation, should be treated previously to the articles of faith. As both the Imperial and French ambassadors had particular instructions to solicit the freedom of communion in both kinds, they used the utmost endeavours to postpone the diets, and protract the determination of this question, till the bishops of

* D'Aubigne, liv. iii. chap. 21.

France

France were arrived. The reſidence of biſhops, and the plurality of benefices and curé's, were alſo regarded by them, as intereſting ſubjects of diſpute. Their proteſtations, and their influence, often diſconcerted the intrigues of the legates. The ſuſpenſion of critical debates, the intermixture of theological controverſy, the artful ſtate of the queſtion, the previous diſcuſſions, and the imperceptible forgery of that chain of arguments and motives, which, in ſpite of all excentric energy, operates like the power of gravitation in great aſſemblies, and draws them at length to one center, were the reſources of thoſe well trained diſciples of the court of Rome. Pius IV. whoſe temper was not altogether ſuited to the patient conduct of intricate affairs, was often thrown into apprehenſion and perplexity. The approach of the cardinal of Lorain at the head of the clergy of France, contributed to heighten his agitation and dread. Formerly the object of jealouſy to his holineſs, who called him "the pope on the other ſide of the mountains," the views of the cardinal in the preſent conjuncture were extremely ſuſpicious. In ſuch a field as the council, it was impoſſible to judge what bounds he would ſet to the flights of his vanity and ambition. The reports which paſſed at Trent and Rome, with reſpect to the appearance he would make, were agreeable to the general opinion of his innate preſumption, and the enterpriſing and factious turn of his genius and character. His late * correſpondence with ſome of the proteſtant princes of Germany, his affectation of being called a vaſſal of the empire, and his negotiations for matching the queen of Scotland with Charles of Auſtria, were ſufficient reaſons to confirm the apprehenſions of his joining with the emperor in all his demands. It was upon the foreſight of the turbulent conſequences of his

* Addit. aux Caſtel. liv. iii. chap. 10.

BOOK IV. 1567. arrival, that one of the legates wrote to cardinal Borromes at Rome, that the pope ought to think either of diſſolving the council, or of transferring it to another place, where his influence might be more effectually exerted. But the terror of the cardinal gradually abated with his preſence. More oſtentatious of his parts, and of his powers, than fixed in his principles and aims, and too much intangled by the variety and inconſiſtency of his political aſſociations, to turn all his ſtrength to one ſide in the council; his ability for oppoſition vaniſhed, amidſt the complex ſcene of intrigues carried on by the chief princes, to whoſe different views and intereſts he choſe to accommodate himſelf.

IT ſoon appeared that there could be no more concert among the envoys and agents ſent from the ſeveral courts to the council, than there was correſpondence of deſigns among the different princes and ſtates. From their contradictory procedure and diviſions, the court of Rome, ſupported by the number of the Italian biſhops, and the native vigour of her policy, acquired the aſcendancy in all important queſtions. Thoſe reſpecting pluralities, and the communion in both kinds, were now decided to the pope's ſatisfaction. The French ambaſſadors alone continued to inſiſt, according to the tenour of their firſt inſtructions, for the regulation and amendment of the diſcipline of the church. A high diſpute which aroſe, about the Spaniſh ambaſſador's competition with them for precedency, in which the pope at firſt favoured the count de Lura's pretenſions, concurred to excite them to the moſt reſolute meaſures of oppoſition. But the critical ſeaſon for it was paſſed; and the ſucceſs of the court of Rome, in carrying the controverted points of faith, now emboldoned her to rear aloft the creſt of her ſpiritual authority, and try to aſſert the boundleſs extenſion of it,

in

in a manner that was formidable to thoſe potentates, which had made her tremble. This was viſibly the caſe, when the legates choſe to introduce the ſubject of the general immunities and exemptions of the clergy, in the various ſtates of chriſtendom. All the ambaſſadors were alarmed with this ungracious and offenſive propoſition, and thoſe of France more than the reſt *. The French court, which had appeared to meaſure weapons with that of Rome, in its turn was afraid of an aſſault on the rights of the king, and the privileges of the Gallican church, which were peculiar to France, and more conſiderable than thoſe of other kingdoms. The queen mother and council, to ward off this back blow, deſiſted from puſhing the reformation of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and propoſed the concluſion of the council. The two ambaſſadors du Ferrier and Pibrac, who had rendered themſelves ungracious in the council, after vehement harangues and proteſtations in defence of the liberties of the church of France, withdrew one after another to Venice, while the cardinal of Lorain took a journey to Rome, to hold a conference with the pope, on the proper means of terminating this troubleſome controverſy. The propoſal he was then authoriſed to make, of a congreſs among the catholic princes, from which, as has been already obſerved, a league againſt the proteſtants was hoped for, met with approbation at Rome, and brought matters to a more peaceable iſſue. In this manner the famous council of Trent, the aſſembly of which had been ſo long laboured by the chriſtian princes, was concluded with little ſatisfaction to ſeveral of them. The emperor, and France, ſucceeded in none of their views, for a partial reformation in the catholic ſyſtem; and even Spain was offended with the abrupt concluſion

1567.

which is concluded.

January, 1564.

* Addit. aux. Caſtel. liv. iv. chap. 9.

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of the council, which was the only point gained by the other two powers. The publication of its decrees in France, being equally repugnant to the circumſtances of the government, and the general intereſts of the monarchy, proved ſuch a ſtone of ſtumbling, that no influence then uſed, or ſince exerted, could be effectual to ſurmount it. The ſentences of ſuſpenſion or depoſition, which paſſed againſt the cardinal of Chatillon, and ſeven other French biſhops, as favourers of hereſy, together with the procedure againſt the queen of Navarre, concurred to increaſe the diſguſt of the court with the pope, and the council. The ambaſſadors of France carried home * the worſt reports of it, and a treatiſe was wrote by the civilian du Moulin, to prove the nullity of its deciſions. All this only ſerved to inflame the diſputes of the catholics and proteſtants in the kingdom, and ſhew more palpably the inconſiſtency of that ſpirit of freedom and independency, which was then ſo much affected in France, with the arbitrary ſchemes of the zealous party; ſoon after adhered to, and purſued by the queen mother and the adminiſtration.

July, 1564.

Of Germany and Hungary, under Maximilian II.

The death of the emperor Ferdinand, and the elevation of his ſon Maximilian II. to the imperial dignity, produced no alteration in the maxims of the court, or of the political government of Germany. With the ſame firmneſs and reſolution, the ſucceſſor ſhewed an indifference about the pope's confirmation of his election, and left it in ſome meaſure to the court of Rome to paſs it in courſe, as a thing uneſſential, and of little moment †. With equal temperance and regard to peace, in matters of religion, he applied to the pope, as Ferdinand had done, for an indulgence of communion

* Thuan. liv. xxxv. p. 718. † Thuan. liv. xxxvi. p. 742.

in both kinds, and the marriage of prieſts, in favour of his ſubjects in Hungary, and ſome other places of his hereditary ſtates. The pope rather eluded than refuſed this demand; the conceſſion of which the council had remitted to him. With reſpect to the proteſtant princes, he maintained the former foundation of concord, eſtabliſhed in the diets of the empire, and more regarded the general tranquillity of the Germanic body, than the repeated admonitions of Pius IV. not to ſuffer the matters of ſpiritual concern to be treated in thoſe ſecular aſſemblies *. This attention to the interior peace of the empire was the more requiſite, on account of the formidable power and warlike ſpirit of Soliman II. the Ottoman Emperor, and the many ſources of mutiny and revolt, with which the frontier provinces were pregnant. The pretenſions of Sigeſmond prince of Tranſilvania, to the kingdom of Hungary, ſoon kindled the flame of war in that quarter; which would have become more general, and drawn the ſtrength of the Turks that way, if Soliman had not formed another project of hoſtility, which was that of the ſiege of Malta. The retreat of the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem, after their loſs of Rhodes, the bridle and the rival of the Turkiſh corſairs, and piratical ſtates; this iſland, or barren rock, of twenty leagues circumference, betwixt Sicily and Africa, preſented the monument of the antient cruſades, and of Gothic chivalry †. The grand maſter of the order de la Vallette, a Frenchman, then commanded in Malta. The whole combatants he could muſter, did not exceed eight thouſand men; of which only five hundred were knights. Muſtapha, the Baſhaw of Buda, made his deſcent on the iſland, with a land army of

Siege of Malta;

* D'Aubigne, liv. iii. chap. 22.

† Thuan. lib. xxxvi. ibid. xxxvii. p. 774. D'Aubigne, liv. iv. chap. 18.

thirty

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thirty thouſand men, beſides marines; which was afterward reinforced by the famous corſair Dragut's embarkation of three thouſand ſoldiers from Africa. The ſiege continued more than four months; during which time the ſuccours promiſed by the king of Spain being long withheld, by the timid and ſelfiſh policy of that monarch, and arriving only when the place was reduced to the laſt extremity; the knights performed the moſt amazing exploits of valour, and with better fortune, equalled the martial renown of their predeceſſors in the defence of Rhodes. The ſhame and reſentment of the repulſe of his forces at Malta, inſtigated Soliman to invade Bulgaria and Hungary, the following ſpring, with a vaſt army. Maximilian had drawn together a numerous body of troops, from the empire and other chriſtian ſtates, to oppoſe him; but could not prevent his paſſing the Danube, and laying ſiege to Sigeth in the borders of Hungary. Encompaſſed with a lake or deep moraſs, and acceſſible only by one cauſeway, defended by ramparts; this double town and fortreſs was commanded by the count de Serin. His reſolute purpoſe to maintain his poſt, or to periſh, atteſted by a ſolemn oath, by which he alſo endeavoured to bind the officers of the garriſon, was moſt remarkable *. The deſperate defence he made, correſponded with this reſolution; and his behaviour in the fatal conjuncture, confirmed the aſſimilation of his ſpirit and character to the heroiſm of the antient Romans. When the innermoſt caſtle was already on fire in ſeveral parts, and the Turkiſh army ready to ſtorm the breaches; Serin putting off his armour, dreſſed himſelf in his richeſt cloaths. A knot of bright plumes ſett off with diamonds, blazing on his head, and having only a ſhort ſword, and a ſmall buckler girt about him; he repair-

and the invaſion of Hungary, by the Ottoman emperor Soliman II.

* Thuan. ibid. p. 776.

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ed to the ſtreet, where the feeble remainder of his troops were drawn up. "It is now the time," ſaid he, "for us to acquit ourſelves of the oaths we have taken, and to die together as we have fought, with fidelity and honour." The ſerenity of his looks, while he ſpoke, and the advancement of the imperial ſtandard to the front, where he moved, engaged them to follow him. After the diſcharge of ſome mortar pieces, to hinder the Turks from perceiving the opening of the gate, they ſallied forth, and throwing themſelves upon the files of the enemy, who were already got upon the bridge of the caſtle, they fell the memorable victims of their courage and conſtancy. The deſtruction of eighteen thouſand Spahis, and ſeven thouſand Janiſſaries, did not ſo much diſtinguiſh the ſiege, and the fall of Serin, as the incident of the death of Soliman, by an apoplexy, ſome days before the place was taken. Equal in magnanimity, and military renown, and other virtues, to the greateſt of the Ottoman ſovereigns *; he ſurpaſt the boundary of their genius and knowledge, by diſcovering a reliſh of the European literature and arts. His fondneſs and taſte for Cæſar's commentaries, which he ordered to be tranſlated into the Sclavonian language, no leſs marked the liberal turn of his mind, than the emulation he diſcovered of excelling the Roman architecture, in the ſtupenduous aqueducts, and ſtately moſques, planned and built by him. His deceaſe, which would have occaſioned the mutiny and diſperſion of the Turkiſh forces, was ſurpriſingly concealed by the artifice of Mechemet the grand vizier, until Selim II. his ſon and ſucceſſor, was proclaimed in Conſtantinople, and arrived in the army. The Turks added the reduction of Giula to that of Sigeth; while Maximilian acted on the defenſive, with a regard to the

who dies of an apoplexy.

* D'Aubigne, liv. iv. chap. 18.

ſafety

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safety of his troops, and a care to avoid a general action, which was blamed *. Though he appeared to have understood the temper and character of the catholic king; the need he had of that powerful alliance, as well as the connexion of the Austrian blood, engaged him on some occasions to conform to the suggestions of the court of Spain. This made him refuse for a time the protestants of Austria, the free exercise of their religion, and return such an answer to the French court, on the subject of the proposed marriage of Charles with his second daughter, that all treaty about it was interrupted for four years.

Of the Low Countries.

In the Low Countries, the general detestation of cardinal Granvelle, expressed among the common people, by several burlesque emblems and badges which they wore, and signified in the strongest terms to Philip, by the letters of the prince of Orange and the counts of Horn and Egmont, had disposed the Spanish monarch from the apprehension of the worst consequences, to consent that the obnoxious minister should retire from the helm of state, to Besançon in Franche Comte. People of all ranks exulted at this victory, and the dutchess of Parma secretly rejoiced with them. But it was soon found that the cardinal had a rooted influence in the administration †. Of three councils in which Philip had placed the supreme government; those of the cabinet, and of the exchequer, were both filled with a majority of Granvelle's party, or the Spanish faction; while the council of state, consisting of the knights of the golden fleece, of the governors of provinces, and others of the Belgic nobility, was generally disposed to follow different measures. Hence in Granvelle's absence, the political collision

* Thuan. lib. xxxvii. p. 770. † Thuan. lib. xxxviii. p. 790. Strada, lib. iv.

that

that formerly prevailed, ſtill ſubſiſted. The governeſs, who wiſhed to eſtabliſh the royal authority, and ſtrengthen her adminiſtration by the ſuffrages of the nobles, was checked in her inclinations and procedure, from the private repreſentations and miſconſtructions of them, which were given to the catholic king, by the Spaniſh partizans. But from the retreat of the cardinal, and the ſmooth reception and anſwer given by Philip to count Egmont, who was commiſſioned by the council of ſtate to inform him of the public diſcontent, the hopes of the mitigation of the inquiſitorial ſeverities, and of the ſuſpenſion of the eſtabliſhment of the new biſhops, were ſtill entertained. Yet Philip's real intentions were not altogether concealed *. The preſcriptions he iſſued, about the admiſſion and obſervance of the decrees of the council of Trent, involved all that was odious and tyrannical in the former procedure, with reſpect to religion. Upon the promulgation of thoſe edicts, the people in the cities and provinces were thrown into a general ferment. In ſome places remonſtrances were prepared, and in other's engagements were entered into, and aſſociations formed, to deliver the country from the papal inquiſitors. That which Brederode, the prince of Orange's brother, and the counts of Culenburgh and Bergen conducted, was the moſt noted confederacy. Four hundred gentry aſſembled under their chiefs, took their rout to Bruxelles, the reſidence of the governeſs. The council of ſtate thought it not adviſeable to ſhut the gates againſt them; who yet only took the name and appearance of petitioners. Arrayed in a kind of uniform of a ſable colour, with ſome mottos and devices on their coats and trappings, which indicated their union, and became afterwards the enſigns of their party; they marched by fours and

Confederacies of the Low Countrymen.

* Strada, lib. v.

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fives, with ſilence and ſolemnity, to the gate of the palace. "Moſt of thoſe are a troop of Gueux or beggars," ſaid the count de Barlamont to the governeſs, "and ought to be ſcorned." This being overheard, and repeated in their meeting at night; the epithet Gueux became the ſubject of their jeſts and merriment, and the toaſt of "long live the beggars" being drank around the company; they agreed to accept the title given them, and to join the emblems of the mendicant tribe to the liveries they wore. Thus the name of Gueux became common to the proteſtants of the Low Countries; as that of Hugonots was given to thoſe of France. The anſwer the dutcheſs of Parma and the council returned to them, was favourable; but the ultimate deciſion of the points in queſtion belonged to Philip. To be dark and artificial always ſuited him. He endeavoured to deceive a people, jealous of his deſigns on their freedom, by the obſcurity of his declarations; and until matters were ripened for executing vengeance, to reſtrain their impetuoſity and ardour in the conteſt for religion, by ſome faint and ambiguous remiſſions of former rigour. The deluſion was too ſlight. Various rumours about his arbitrary deſigns, eaſily credible to the people of the Netherlands, who dreaded the civil domination of the Spaniards over them, as well as the inquiſition, prevailed to excite them to a more open contempt, of the reſtrictions to which they were ſubjected. In various places, numerous conventicles of the proteſtants were ſoon beheld; who attended their ſermons in arms. The wealthy citizens of ſeveral great towns, both feared and favoured thoſe aſſemblies. The magiſtrates, divided in their inclinations, and incapable of controuling the licentious concourſe of the populace, remained in ſuſpence, or ſent to requeſt the governeſs for aſſiſtance. The military force in her

The name of Gueux given to the proteſtants.

power

power was quite inconſiderable; and the marching of troops from the frontier garriſons, was a meaſure unſafe in itſelf, and diſagreeable to the commercial towns. Her only recourſe was, to parleys with Brederode and his aſſociates, and to engage ſuch of the Belgic nobility, as had the favour of the populace, to exert themſelves in quelling thoſe dangerous tumults. At Antwerp and other towns, the prince of Orange, and count Egmont, performed at the hazard of their perſons, ſeveral important ſervices. While the public diſorders were allayed by their influence, and the people diſtinguiſhed them by ſeveral marks of confidence; they became the more ſuſpected by Philip, of being ſecret fomenters of the confederacies. The impatience and indignation of the people, at the delay of the reſponſes from the court of Spain, at length broke forth into violent rage. A popular war with the popiſh altars, images, and ornaments, commenced and ſpread with inconceivable rapidity through the cities and provinces. What in France was rather ſubſequent to the civil war, and attended the exceſſes of it, became in the Netherlands the preliminary ſcene. The havock and depredation of the ſhrines and furniture of the churches and monaſteries, proved the main and principal undertaking and atchievement of the proteſtants; divided as they were in this country, the receptacle of all ſtrangers, into various ſects and denominations. Agreed and united, however, in this principle, of deſtroying what they conceived to be the monuments of Antichriſt; they created, in the courſe of their warfare, conſternation and aſtoniſhment to the ſtate, and individuals, with ſcarce the leaſt bloodſhed, and with no ſhock or conſiderable violence to either. It appears from the conſent of the hiſtorians, that never did inſurrection and tumult threaten more outrage, and perpetrate ſo little. It was in ſtrict language, a ſacred

The popiſh images demoliſhed.

Book IV. 1567. war waged only againſt the images of the ſaints, and the decorations of the churches; while, as * Strada, with ſenſible concern for the honour of both, obſerves, no man reſiſted the aſſaults upon them. The zeal of the catholics for their imagery, which in France provoked the higheſt vengeance, was here overpowered by fear. But as the confederate bands appeared in ſome places to the number of twelve or fourteen thouſand, and ſeemed capable of plunging the ſtate into utter confuſion, the dutcheſs of Parma hearkened to the advice of the popular lords, and granted, on conditions, the public exerciſe of religion to the ſectaries.

The tumults were quieted, and the public tranquillity was, in a great meaſure, reſtored, when the catholic king's purpoſe to raiſe forces, and march an army into the Netherlands, was generally known and declared. At the ſame time that this was ſignified, he took care to write letters, in the moſt amicable and inſinuating ſtrain, to the prince of Orange, and others of the nobility, who had conducted themſelves as he had done. This rendered them more obſequious, and together with the gradual ſubſiding of the popular inſurrections, enabled the governeſs to exert her authority with new vigour. In compliance with Philip's deſigns, which ſhe knew, but did not approve, ſhe altered her procedure to ſeverity. The reſtraint of the proteſtant conventicles in ſeveral places, and requiſition made to ſome towns to receive garriſons of ſoldiers, under pretence of the public ſafety, and the proſecutions for former riots having revived the public diſquiet; Brederode renewed his expoſtulations and remonſtrances, and finding them ineffectual, betook himſelf to arms. While ſeveral towns in the provinces of Holland were poſſeſſed by him, ſome of his aſſociates endeavoured

Arms taken up by the ſectaries.

* Liv. v.

to

to throw themſelves into Zealand, and others to excite the towns of Brabant to declare for them. Theſe were the Calviniſts, and a few other ſectaries, ſeparated from the Lutherans, who remained quiet, or joined with the catholics. A conſiderable body of them being routed at Oſtervell near Antwerp, their progreſs was ſoon checked. Unſupported by the nobility, and proceeding upon no formed plan, the tumultuary oppoſition ſunk to nothing. Brederode being obliged to fly from Holland, and the diſobedient towns forced to ſurrender, the governeſs found a general ſubmiſſion yielded to her authority throughout the provinces. In thoſe circumſtances, when things reverted to the former channels of peace, Philip, diſregarding the advice of the dutcheſs of Parma, and diſſuaded by the prince of Ebora and the duke of Feria, two of his cabinet counſellors, adhered to his favourite maxim, of extirpating the roots of hereſy and rebellion in the Netherlands by force of arms. The duke of Alva, who breathed war, and a ſpirit of domination congenial to his maſters, being arrived in Flanders with an army conſiſting of nine thouſand Spaniſh and Italian infantry, and twelve hundred horſe, preſently ſhewed his aptitude to verify the formidable ideas entertained by the people of the Low Countries, both of his character and of his commiſſion. The counts of Egmont and Horn being called to a council at Bruxelles, and arreſted upon the ſpot; the ſurprize and horror of this ſtroke proved no leſs univerſal than it was ſudden and unexpected. The prince of Orange's information, joined with his foreſight, had enabled him to form a true judgment of Alva's inſtructions, and to eſcape the danger by a ſeaſonable retreat into Germany *. "Either, ſaid he to thoſe two noblemen, my apprehenſion of events

Alva's arrival in Flanders.

* Strada, liv. vi.

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is totally loſt, or you unhappily are expoſed to be the bridge upon which the Spaniards ſhall trample, as ſoon as they ſet foot in the Low Countries." Such was the ſtate of the Netherlands, when † Caſtelnau preſented himſelf at Bruxelles, to ſolicit the ducheſs of Parma to ſend ſome auxiliary troops to the king of France, on the re-commencement of the civil war. How looſe the engagements entered into at Bayonne had been, may be preſumed from the duke of Alva's reply, who deſired to be excuſed from weakening his forces by detachments; and then, changing his ſtyle, talked of marching in a few weeks at the head of his whole army, to vanquiſh the rebellious heretics. It was with difficulty that he conſented, that, inſtead of Spaniſh troops, fifteen hundred Flemiſh horſe, and two thouſand infantry, the half of which were of the ſame country, ſhould be ſent under the command of the count d'Aremberg, and take that rout to Paris which he thought beſt.

Of Scotland.

IN Scotland the novelty of the ſovereign's preſence, and the admiration of Mary's natural and acquired endowments, proved a temporary reſtraint to the exceſſes of faction, and gave, for ſome time, the aſpect of tranquillity to the public affairs. Her education, her taſte, and her religious principles, were, however, no proper pledges of the continuance of this happy effect of her adminiſtration. In a country unpoliſhed by the ſofter arts, and where the attractives of a court had never tamed the rudeneſs of the independent nobles, the former could have no ſteady influence, and the latter were likely to produce many grounds of jealouſy and diſſenſion. Often flattered, and amuſed with various propoſals, of matching with the prince of Spain, with the archduke Charles of Auſtria, with the duke of Anjou, and ſome other princes of the

† Mem. liv. vi. chap. 6.

firſt

first rank in Europe; Mary, who found her name more used for political purposes than her interest regarded, began to form the resolution of being the arbitress of her own fortune in this important point of the choice of a consort and partner of her dignity. While ambition presented the high view of preserving the succession to two crowns, the youthful beauty and comely person of Henry Stewart lord Darnly, son to the earl of Lennox, attracted the regard, and soon engaged the affections of Mary. Of the blood royal of England, by the female side, and after Mary, the next in lineage to the crown, the match with Darnly, in some respects, appeared not unsuitable; but being hastily contracted, and the effect of sudden passion, it hardly afforded the prospect of the happiest consequences *. The queen of England, after all she heard projected for Mary's aggrandizement, by a conjugal alliance, was at first pleased with this humbler scheme of her marriage, and seemed content to approve and promote it. As the exaltation it promised to one family, above the rest of the nobility, necessarily engendered some domestic discontent; and particular objections were made to Darnly's advancement to the royalty, on account of his profession of the catholic faith: Elizabeth, no sooner perceived the sparks of controversy and faction arising than she contributed to encrease them, by changing her language, and declaring, by a special message, her dissatisfaction. Castelnau, who had been sent from the court of France into England, to compliment Elizabeth, and to sound her inclinations about marriage, by proposing the young king of France for her consort, whom she quaintly called too big and too little †, had proceeded to Scotland, and found Mary so far fixed in her inclinations for the match with Darnly, that she

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Queen of Scotland married to Darnly.

* D'Aubigne, liv. vi. chap. 21. Thuan. lib. xxxv.
† Castelnau, liv. v. chap. 11.

Book IV. 1567. ſolicited him to procure the approbation of the king and queen mother to her choice. This was eaſily granted by the court of France, which, notwithſtanding ſome faint propoſitions about her nuptials with the duke of Anjou, and the high tone of the cardinal of Lorain on this ſubject, was diſpoſed to make no extraordinary effort in Mary's favour, and choſe at this juncture to concur with what was now underſtood to be agreeable to the queen of England. A ſenſe of independent dignity and natural ſpirit, animated the Scotiſh queen to vindicate her choice, and to proſecute more keenly her favourite purpoſe, in ſpite of Elizabeth's ſubſequent oppoſition. Some inſurrections enſued; to controul which, Mary exerted her ſovereign authority, and, as had been ſometimes practiſed in that weak monarchy, recalled a part of the catholic lords from baniſhment, to aſſiſt her in reducing the malcontents to obedience. In the midſt of this public confuſion, the queen's nuptials with Darnly were celebrated. The ſuppreſſion and retreat of the oppoſite party produced only an interval of quiet, while the ſpirit of faction broke forth among the courtiers in a different form.

A Piedmonteze, the ſon of a muſician of Turin, called Rizzio, who had come in the train of the duke of Savoy's ambaſſador into Scotland, had by his vocal talents, and the inſinuating arts of his country, recommended himſelf to the queen's favour. From being the aſſociate of her private entertainments, he had become Mary's French ſecretary; and, by his agency for Darnly in the marriage, had extended his influence, and inſenſibly rendered himſelf the umpire of the different parties, and the channel of court intereſt. Never did an Italian preſume, in a more inauſpicious ſtage, to play the miniſter of ſtate. In nothing could the

queen

queen have ſhewn greater inadvertency to the temper of the Scotiſh lords, than by imagining they would tamely endure Rizzio's elevation. The object of ſecret contempt, or open hatred to the chiefs of the ſeveral parties, he felt not the effects of their reſentments till an unhappy cauſe rendered it more ſignal and more outrageous. This was a miſunderſtanding betwixt the king and queen, attended with the growing diſtaſte of the latter for her conſort. With the exterior of a man formed to pleaſe, he was deficient in correſponding endowments of mind and temper. His advancement to the royal dignity diſplayed the faults of his character; and Mary, ſenſible and ſpirited, reflected more on her infelicity than on the proper means of its mitigation, or the propriety of throwing a veil over it. He was prompted to revenge the favour which Rizzio enjoyed with the queen, in a manner equally ſhocking to humanity, and reproachful to her reputation. While he ſupped with the queen, in company with the counteſs of Argyle, and a few others, the king entered the apartment of the palace of Holyrood-houſe by the back ſtairs, and unlocked the private door of the chamber, and took his ſtation behind the queen. His ſudden appearance, his looks and geſtures, denounced his furious purpoſe. The lords Ruthven and Lindſay, and the natural brother of the counteſs of Lennox, followed by a troop of conſpirators, claſhed their weapons in the antichamber. Rizzio graſped the queen for protection, and was violently torn from her, and ſcarcely dragged out of her ſight, when he was mangled to death with more than fifty wounds. The queen ſubmitted to violence, and appeared to grant the pardon of an outrage, which ſhe could not preſently puniſh. It was diſſimulation only, and the king was made the dupe of it. She employed her powerful careſſes to engage him to

Rizzio murdered.

Book IV. 1567. abandon his party, to disavow his concern in the murder of Rizzio, and to join with her in prosecuting the conspirators with vengeance. Having in the heat of indignation taken this artful method of rendering him odious, and publicly contemptible, Mary hesitated no longer to shew, on various occasions, all the marks of her personal dislike and aversion to the king. She could not, it seems, in these circumstances, manifest sufficiently her resentment and hatred without distinguishing another man, by palpable evidences of her favour and confidences. The earl of Bothwell was the person whom she most unhappily chose for her champion and her favourite. Involved in public treasons and private crimes, dissolute in principles and manners, whom nothing but engaging in some scene of villany could screen: Mary, by an attachment to him, placed herself on the most dangerous precipice, to which disappointed passion or resentment could fly. The recourse proved alike fatal to her fame, and her future peace and welfare.

The sequel of the history, which becomes dramatic, and presents a plot and a catastrophe, is well known. After a scene, in which the alienation of the queen's regard to her consort, contrasted by some feigned reconcilements, is displayed; after neither his humiliation by the sense of her contempt and aversion, nor pity for his distress by a strange and violent distemper, availed to restore the broken tye of conjugal affection; as the king, not yet recovered from indisposition, lay at a retired house in a place called the Kirk of Field, close by the wall of the city of Edinburgh, his apartment was blown up with gun-powder. His body, carried by the explosion to the outside of the wall, was found lifeless, without any apparent marks of other violence. Mary, who had attended him for a short time, till that very night, had gone to pass the late hours

The king's apartment blown up.

of it, in the neighbouring palace of Holyroodhouſe. The aſtoniſhment and horror of the citizens, at ſo tragical an event, was expreſſed by bitter outcries and imprecations againſt the perpetrators of the parricide, and diſmal conjectures with reſpect to them; but the idea they had of their ſovereign's character, ſtifled ſome criminal alledgances of her being privy to the deed. The imputation and load of the guilt were, by the public voice, laid upon Bothwell, who with the help of inferior accomplices, was capable to contrive and execute the barbarous treaſon. In a country, where mutual accuſations and alternate impeachments were no leſs common among the parties, than the commiſſion of various outrages, it was eaſy for * Bothwell to propagate other reports. But in ſpite of the rumour induſtriouſly ſpread, of the earls of Murray and Morton having conſpired the king's murder, in ſpite of the contradictory allegations artfully publiſhed in France, that the catholic lords had been inſtigated to it, from a zealous apprehenſion of his apoſtaſy from their religion; the charge againſt Bothwell was too invariably ſupported, by the public belief, to be turned aſide; and he found himſelf under the neceſſity of appearing to ſubmit to a public trial. The queen's concern in the exculpation of a perſon, for whom all people knew her high regard, engaged her to render the trial ſo precipitant and partial in almoſt the whole of its circumſtances, as reflected diſcredit both on herſelf and the nation. Arrogant from his judicial acquittal, preſumptuous from the glaring partiality ſhewn him; there was nothing too extravagant for Bothwell to aſpire after, nor too inſolent to be attempted by him. After having ſupported her favourite, and carried, as ſhe thought, the point of his public abſolution, Mary concurred

* Thuan. lib. xxxviii. p. 799.

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with him in betraying her own reputation, and inducing the nobility to conſent to what the pureſt innocence could not have done, without incurring a high meaſure of reproach. The queen's marriage with Bothwell, in thoſe circumſtances, could hardly fail to produce the well known conſequences. What the French envoy, le Croc, refuſed * to witneſs; what, even in the laboured apology for it, by the biſhop of Dumblain, was not heard without deriſion at the court of France; what made the Scots in other countries be generally upbraided; the unſeemly nuptials at length awaked the indignation of the people in Scotland. A party of the nobles roſe againſt Bothwell, who in the field unequal for the battle, and declining the ſingle combat, which once he had offered, left the queen to capitulate with her adverſaries. Expoſed in the midſt of the ſoldiers and of the populace, to ſome indignities, ſhe behaved with remarkable ſpirit, and refuſed to yield to the conditions preſcribed to her; until, being conducted to the caſtle of Lochlevin, and ſtrictly confined, ſhe at length reluctantly ſigned her renunciation and transference of the ſovereignty to her ſon. Reſerved yet to other viciſſitudes of fortune, ſhe found means to recover her liberty; and appearing at the head of a conſiderable body of adherents, was defeated at Falſide near Glaſgow, by the forces of the earl of Murray, appointed regent of the kingdom. In this extremity, Mary was conſtrained to fly into England, and implore Elizabeth's protection and aſſiſtance. The conduct and character of the Scotiſh queen thus ſhaded, have been placed by ſome compilers of her hiſtory in a different point of view. To ſupport their opinion, not only the moſt ſtrained conſtruction of facts muſt be

Queen married to Bothwell.

Mary's flight into England.

* Matthieu, Hiſt. liv. viii. p. 556. Thuan. ibid. p. 801. and 803. D'Aubigne, ibid.

allowed;

allowed; but the improbable hypotheſis of ſuch an intricate and incoherent ſeries of machination and ſucceſsful conſpiracy, on the part of the earl of Murray and his aſſociates againſt their ſovereign, as can hardly be imagined to have taken place, and the parallel of which can ſcarcely be produced from hiſtory.

Of England.

THE efficacy of the queen of England's policy, to plunge her rival, Mary, into her hapleſs ſituation, has been much inſiſted upon by ſome modern writers. With ſuch a coadjutor, the earl of Murray and his party are ſuppoſed capable of having managed circumſtances, and produced a courſe of ſtrange events, and turned them all in the iſſue to their advantage. In a period of the hiſtory of Scotland, when the chief lords were perpetually ſhifting ſides, and when it is rare to find the ſame perſons twice combined in acting one and the ſame part; ſuch a plan of political craft is reckoned to have been concerted and ſucceſsfully purſued. That Elizabeth was jealous of Mary, and ſhewed often a capricious diſlike to her, and ſometimes a more ſtudied oppoſition to her aggrandizement, is unqueſtionable. But it does not appear, that her policy and influence were exerted in ſo direct a manner as to have engendered thoſe capital paſſages of Mary's hiſtory, which have been mentioned: paſſages which followed one another ſo rapidly, and in ſuch a train of uncommon fatality, that the principal actors, and thoſe neareſt the ſcene, in vain pretended to give a conſiſtent or intelligible explication of them to foreign courts. The uneaſineſs and diſquiet which Elizabeth diſcovered, about the nomination of a ſucceſſor, and the acknowledgment of Mary's right, proceeded not ſolely from temper and caprice. The political ſtate of Europe, and the circumſtances of her own kingdom, concurred to heighten her apprehenſions about the conſequences of this meaſure. The hopes

of

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of the catholic party in England were apt to be ſwelled to a dangerous pitch, from any conjuncture favourable to their views. By admitting various propoſitions of marriage, which were made by ſeveral catholic princes, Elizabeth not only gratified her vanity, and amuſed her ſubjects, deſirous of beholding immediate heirs to the crown, but ſoothed a party whom ſhe had cauſe to fear and guard againſt. Yet in all material reſolutions, ſhe ſhewed that the predominant principle of her politics carried her to weaken or diſunite the catholic powers. At this time, the concluſion of the council of Trent, whence their combination in ſome great deſigns was apprehended, and the ſubſequent march of the duke of Alva into the Netherlands, connected with the interview at Bayonne, redoubled her anxiety and vigilance. When the proteſtants in France broke with the court, and were again on the point of taking arms, ſhe thought it a proper time to diſcover her inclinations to ſupport them. Notwithſtanding the late treaty of peace, and the apparent marks of amity and concord with the French court, ſhe ſent an ambaſſador to renew the old demand of the reſtitution of Calais. After what had already paſſed on this head, it may be ſaid that ſhe had buried her claim, and excluded herſelf from even the ſhadow of an argument for inſiſting upon it. To the unexpected requiſition, the court of France, however provoked, found it convenient in the preſent juncture to return a decent refuſal. Elizabeth expected no more. To give the proteſtants hopes of her aſſiſtance, without declaring for them, was the main end ſhe had in view. It was alſo proper, that ſhe ſhould not appear too forward in engaging with them, who had not adhered to the terms of the league they had made with her; while, by inviting the

Elizabeth diſpoſed to aſſiſt the proteſtants in France.

cardinal

cardinal of Chatillon to the Engliſh court, it was plain ſhe held this behaviour to be a pardonable tranſgreſſion.

Vacancy of the pontificate ſupplied by Pius V.

THE death of Pius IV. having vacated the pontificate, the diſputes about the choice of a ſucceſſor were at length terminated, by the elevation of the cardinal Alexandrini to the papal crown, who took the name of Pius V. A monk of the order of the Dominicans, of obſcure birth, whom ſome literature and a zeal for the diſcipline of the church, exemplified by the ſeverity of his own manners, had raiſed to eccleſiaſtical preferments; his aſſumption of the purple appeared to denounce a reformation of the court of Rome. The cardinal Baromeo, nephew to the late pope, the moſt diſtinguiſhable among the dignitaries of the church, for the qualities of his character, and whoſe intereſt prevailed to carry his election, doubtleſs expected this happy conſequence from it *. But he acted and behaved more like the general of a religious order than the ſovereign pontiff and the ſecular prince of Rome. General theory ſubſtituted in the room of juſt principles of policy; the ſpeculative approbation of the moral virtues, without the habits of the nobleſt of them, and implanted and cuſtomary conceit, and application of rules and maxims, without temper and moderation, were ingredients in the character of Pius V. which ſhewed, that the ſchool in which he had been trained could never form or cultivate a great mind. His inſtructions to the cardinal Commandon, to menace the emperor with the diſpoſal of his crown, in caſe he perſiſted to treat religious affairs in the diets of the empire, as well as the bull he publiſhed againſt the queen of England, as a heretic, were the early ſpecimens he gave

His character.

* Thuan. lib. xxxvii. p. 766.

Book IV. 1567. of his genius for the adminiſtration of the catholic church, and the exerciſe of the ſovereign apoſtolic authority. Thoſe inſtances of his temper and conduct had alſo ſome influence on the revival of the civil war in France.

THE

HISTORY of FRANCE.

BOOK V.

Reign of CHARLES IX.

CHAP. I.

Influence of the family tye in France—Characters of the proteſtant and catholic chiefs—Attempt of the proteſtants to beſiege Paris—Battle of St. Denis—Death of the conſtable Montmorency—March of the proteſtant troops to the frontiers—Their junction with duke Caſſimir's forces from Germany.

THE feudal principles which originally warped the monarchical government of France, nouriſhed a ſignal regard to genealogy, and the tye of blood among families. In all the Gothic conſtitutions of Europe, this ſubordinate ſpecies of fealty and aſſociation naturally aroſe. The effect of that vaſſalage and family intereſt eſtabliſhed in them, was confirmed, and gained ſtrength from the ideas and maxims of honour generally received; ideas

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peculiar to the Gothic nations, and which can ſcarcely be traced in ſome faint reſemblances, in the more antient ſtates and empires of the world. Whether the genius of the people, or the conſtitutional principles with reſpect to the blood royal cultivated in the French nation, and by analogy and ſimilitude applied to other families, contributed to improve the force of the genealogical bond of union; it is certain that its influence and operation have proved in no country, except where clanſhips prevailed, more remarkable than in France. During the civil wars, indeed, which twiſted religious motives of diſſenſion with political ones, the family tye could not poſſibly arrange the parties in the field, or preſcribe the rule of their attachments. As in the inſtance of the prince of Condé oppoſed to the king of Navarre his brother, and of the Colignis detached from their uncle the conſtable, it could not fail to be obſtructed and reverſed by more powerful and intereſting engagements. Yet in ſome degree it may be ſuppoſed to have preſerved its efficacy; and ſo far as it operated, the reciprocal force and obſtinacy of the contending parties would be increaſed. Hence an emulation aroſe among the families enliſted on either ſide, which of them ſhould appear with the beſt equipage in the field; and hence that promptitude and celerity, with which the chieftains and leaders, both catholic and proteſtant, may be obſerved to have muſtered their kindred bands, on the ſudden reſumption of arms.

The influence of the family tye was conſiderable in France.

To Frenchmen the deduction of the genealogies of their nobleſſe, and the connexions of their antient families, may be an entertainment deſirable and proper in a hiſtory of France; but to foreigners, ſuch a detail as le Laboureur has given, though decorated with the characters of the chief perſonages, muſt be inſipid and unacceptable. It may even be deemed a fault in compoſition, as well as a diſad-

diſadvantage to the portrait of characters, to cluſter a number of them together, or preſent a ſelect roll of them in a place where no epiſode ſerves to introduce them. Hiſtory, however, in ſome of her approved models has challenged this privilege as juſt and neceſſary, at leaſt in forming her exordium, and unfolding her principal characters. In the preamble to a ſeries of military exploits, ſuch as theſe of the preſent civil war, where the names and actions of the inferior chieftains are perpetually recurring; to diſtinguiſh the moſt conſpicuous among them, with ſome characteriſtical notes, appears to be no leſs allowable and requiſite. Inliſted in the party of the prince of Condé and the proteſtants, we have already often mentioned the two captains Montbrun and Mouvans *. Natives both of the confines of Dauphiny, with the rough caſt of the provincial warriors, they could ſcarcely be ſaid, after the conſpiracy of Amboiſe, to have laid down arms till their death. They ſeldom joined the main army, and diſplayed moſt remarkable proweſs in defending the difficult paſſes of the mountains and rivers, and when they fought not under the command of other leaders. It hath been obſerved, that the latter threw himſelf into Geneva, with a conſiderable body of men, before the proteſtant chiefs had fully concerted their reſolutions of war. Alike impatient and diſdainful of controul, by kings or chiefs, they appear to have acted up to a poſition of Montbruns, in a reply to a letter from Henry III. that in war the whole world was their equal. With them may be ranked de Pierre Gourdes, and du Broſſay St. Grave, though inferior in martial atchievements. Of a different claſs and character were the Vidame of Chartres and the baron de Lavordin. The firſt was John de Ferrier lord of Maligne, a

Characters of or the catholic and proteſtant chiefs neceſſary to be ſketched.

A ſummary of the latter.

* Brantome.

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sister's son of the former Vidame's, who was imprisoned in the late reign, and died in confinement *. The heir of the best part of his uncle's estate, he was, like him, gallant, enterprizing and magnificent; and, from his family allianee with the prince of Condé, keenly attached to the protestant party. The wealth and grandeur of the baron's family rendered him one of the most considerable and potent chieftains of his party, and enabled him to furnish four squadrons of cavalry, and two companies of carabiniers to the prince of Condé. These were men qualified both to command and obey. Among those who joined the culture of a happier genius to approved valour, and were distinguished both in the field and in negotiations, we may reckon Bouchavanne, Briquenaut, de Mouy, de la Noue, Piles and Teligni. The three last were the most eminent. Of the nobleſſe of Perigord, Piles in his first essay of arms discovered the affections of the man, mixed with the qualities of the soldier. Commiseration for the protestant captives in Guienne, whom Monpensier and Monluc condemned to death, appears to have waked the martial spirit in him †. An active and gallant spirit of valour signalized his reputation in the army. Francis de la Noue, of an antient family in Brittany, was, in the judgment of the contending parties, an honourable acquisition to either side. His hesitation for sometime, with respect to the expediency of a religious war, was the dictate of his natural good sense and moderation. His fidelity, when once he had declared himself, was regarded by the catholic chiefs as invincible. His fate to be often their prisoner only afforded a stronger proof of his intrepid valour and constancy. With the name of iron-arm he was renowned in the field, where his bravery equalled the solidity of

* Addit. aux Castel. liv. vii.

† Thuan. lib. xxxiii. p. 684.

his

his counſels; and the diſcourſes political and military he wrote, are judged to rank him with the intelligent captains of antiquity *. Charles de Teligni was accompliſhed in all the qualities neceſſary for the court and the army. Endowed with native valour, his prudence, his temper untainted with violence, his eloquence and wiſdom in negotiation, rendered him a worthy object of public regard. The excellencies of his character engaged and directed the admiral Coligni to prefer the virtues of ſuch a ſon-in-law, to the advantage of a wealthier fortune, and the luſtre of a grander alliance †. Such an approbation from Coligni, who in his teſtament gave his daughter his perſonal counſel and advice, though not his command to marry Teligni, was a ſufficient atteſtation of his ſingular worth and merit. Having mentioned the family of Coligni, we may conclude this index of the characters of thoſe proteſtant chiefs, with that of the cardinal of Chatillon, who appeared among them, both in the cabinet counſels and in the field. At the age of ſeventeen created a cardinal, by pope Clement VII. an early favourite of the nobility of the court, educated in the train of its manners and employments, he ſuffered the ſame attachment his brothers had to the tenets of the proteſtants, to impreſs his mind, and draw him from the centre of honour and dignity in the catholic church, to embrace the party of thoſe who ſtruggled with difficulties. He laid aſide his red robes, and from his biſhoprick took the title of the count of Beauvais. When his depoſition was pronounced at Rome, he again appeared at court in his cardinal's habit, and was publicly eſpouſed to mademoiſelle de Loyre. The public eſteem of his perſonal qualities was ſuch as palliated thoſe irregular tranſitions; and while his reputation was little prejudiced by them, the

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* Brant. de Teligni. † Addit. aux Caſtel. ibid.

indulgence

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indulgence the court affected to ſhew to the proteſtant chiefs, preſerved to him, for a conſiderable time, the enjoyment of the revenues of his benefices.

A ſummary of the former.

To preſent an abſtract of the commanders and officers of the royaliſts, eminent for their military renown and exploits in the civil war, becomes the more difficult from the crouded catalogue of them. Beſides the dukes of Nemours, Monpenſier, Longueville, and the other great lords of the court, who for honour's ſake had all learned the diſcipline of war; the three brothers of Guiſe, d'Aumale and d'Ebeuf, and the grand Prior, and the conſtable Montmorency's two ſons, may be reckoned among the able and experienced chiefs of the army. The characters of ſome of theſe have been already touched, and others may be afterwards more properly diſplayed. It may here be remarked, that to be accompliſhed in the martial exerciſes of horſemanſhip, the management of the lance, running at the ring, and the various ſhews of combat, was in a great meaſure common to all the principal nobility. James de Savoy, duke of Nemours, from the advantage of the peculiar gracefulneſs of his form, was allowed to be the pattern and boaſt of the court in thoſe admired accompliſhments. Courteſy, addreſs in buſineſs, eloquence and literature, were his yet more ſingular talents; and the benefit his party derived from them, was rather more conſiderable than that of his ſervices in the field. Sprung of the Bourbon race, the duke of Monpenſier placed his chief glory in being a prince of the blood. His illuſtrious anceſtry ſwelled his vanity, without exalting or improving his character *. Valuing himſelf on imitating St. Lewis, he believed it honourable and incumbent on him to wage war with the Hugonots, and treat

* Brantome Eloge.

them

them as that monarch was ſuppoſed to have done the infidels in the Holy Land. He profeſſed to grant them no quarter, and when obliged to diſpenſe with his maxim, and to conſent to a formal capitulation, he recollected his religious principle, that faith ought not to be kept with heretics, and calmly ordered them to be led before his confeſſor, and to be hanged or executed without further ceremony. This ſhocking behaviour was the mere effect of extravagant zeal, ſuſtained by unfeeling ſtupidity, without the impulſe of natural violence or ferocity of temper. In other reſpects he was qualified for the executive part of the military office, and might paſs for a commander in the field, where genius or capacity was not required. The vehement bigots and the barbarous choſe to ſerve under him. The king's lieutenants and governors of the provinces increaſed the liſt of the martial chiefs of his army. The brothers of the family of Guiſe, and ſeveral of their friends and dependents were of this claſs; inveſted with military commiſſions, and employed in actual ſervice, either in Scotland or in Italy during the late reign. The grand Prior, who died ſoon after the battle of Dreux, appeared to participate more of the military ſpirit and capacity of his elder brother than the other two, who not only compared with the duke of Guiſe, but with other leſs eminent commanders, were more diſtinguiſhed for their opulence and power than their abilities. Among thoſe officers trained and habituated to martial diſcipline, beſides the baron de la Garde, who was chiefly employed in maritime affairs, ſieur de Strozzi, the marſhal de Coſſe, Briſſac and de Tavennes and Martigues, the counts de Biron and Briſſac may be reckoned the moſt remarkable. Of a Florentine family, the grandſon of Leo Strozzi, prior of Capua, an eminent commander in the reign of Francis I. and Henry II.

Philip

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Philip Strozzi diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſervice of France as an officer *; aſſiduous in duty, and attentive to the diſcipline of the troops, and to the improvement of it. By his direction and care the French infantry, of which he was appointed colonel, began to lay aſide the old Harquebuſſe as a miſhapen, ill-contrived and unwieldy load to the ſoldier. He encouraged the forgers of fire-arms at Paris to imitate and outrival thoſe of Milan, and inſtructed both the artiſt and the ſoldier in the proper faſhion and manœuvre of the muſquetry. In various combats and expeditions his military ſkill and bravery appeared. With a high degree of reputation in the councils of war, ſimilar to that of his elder brother the marſhal Briſſac, Arthur de Coſſe was advanced to the ſame military dignity. In him the prudence and attention of an experienced commander, conſcious and careful of his fame, and of his charge were diſcernible. His name among the old bands of Piedmont was gracious. The early campaigns of the duke of Anjou were underſtood to be, in a great meaſure, reſigned to his directon. The deaths of two ſuch warriors as the Briſſacs in their beds, by remarkable torments of the gout, are noticed by the hiſtorians. Gaſpar de Saux, the viſcount and marſhal des Tavennes, ſupported the character of a wiſe and intelligent commander. The queen mother, from an opinion of his judgment, recommended him to the confidence of her favourite ſon. His attachment, however, appears to have been ſtumbled by ſome trial it was put to by the court. His ſon publiſhed, from the papers the marſhal his father had wrote, the memoirs of his life. Sebaſtian de Luxembourg, the viſcount de Martigues, was equal to every atchievement of valour. The defence of Leith in Scotland proved a remarkable ſpecimen of his gallant ſpirit. In

* Brant. tom. iv.

a variety

a variety of actions in the civil war, he was ſtill diſtinguiſhed by the ſame ardor and thirſt for martial renown. From his fire and impetuoſity, the duke of Guiſe thought that his bravery exceeded his judgment; yet obſerving him act as a colonel of French infantry, he declared he diſplayed the qualifications of the commander no leſs than thoſe of the ſoldier. He was obliged to quit that poſt, which was reſtored to d'Andelot in the intervals of peace; and the only fixed promotion he at length attained was that of the government of Brittanny on the death of his uncle the duke d'Eſtampes. With more tempered courage and approved abilities in the military ſcience, Armand de Gontault de Biron roſe to rank and fame in the army. The poſts of camp-marſhal, of governor of Xaintonge, of grand maſter of artillery, were ſucceſſively beſtowed on him as the rewards due to his ſignal ſervice and merit. The ſoldier, the ſcholar, and the politician, were exemplified in him. With thoſe united endowments, he ſhewed that great parts and perſonal excellencies ſurmount, even in civil wars, the eſtimation of violence and blind devotion to the heads of party. He had the good fortune to ſtand the higheſt ſwell of bloody rage at the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew; the honour to number ſeven pitched battles in which he commanded, by the ſcars of the wounds he received; and the felicity, as military heroes have reckoned it, to expire in a moment by a cannon ſhot in the ſervice of Henry IV. The loſs of the commentaries he wrote is regretted by the hiſtorians. A genius and ſpirit capable of emulating the warlike glory of his father, the old marſhal, ſhone forth in Timoleon de Coſſe, the count de Briſſac. The noble and generous elevation with which the riſing flame of valour inſpires a young officer, and the advantageous diſplay it gives of all the manly powers, illuſtrated his early appearances in the

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army. Diſtinguiſhed among many hopeful flowers of chivalry, an untimely fate precipitated his death. To this group of the principal military characters, it would be tedious to ſubjoin the Gondrins, the Maugerons, the Matignons, the Terrides, and various other catholic captains, who performed their warlike atchievements in the remoter provinces. The narrative of ſome of their moſt remarkable fates may paſs for all the inditement ſuch characters require.

September. The proteſtants begin the ſecond civil war with attempting to beſiege Paris;

THE bold attempt of the proteſtant chiefs at Monçeaux, to ſeize the perſon of the king, proved a ſufficient ſignal to the leaders of both parties, to collect their military powers. The prince of Condé and his aſſociates, inſtead of being diſmayed by the failure of their enterprize, not only kept the field, but perſiſted in acting offenſively againſt their antagoniſts, with an intrepid ſpirit which had the ſhew of ſuperior ſtrength. To diſplay in the commencement of the war, the moſt daring bravery, and add reputation to their firſt reſumption of arms, they determined to form the blockade of Paris. The inland ſituation of this celebrated metropolis, rendered the deſign practicable in a certain degree, even to a ſmall army. To ſuch a great city the diſtant proſpect of want, by the partial obſtructions of proviſions, is always formidable. No ſooner had the prince of Condé ſeized a few poſts on the Marres and the Seine, and burnt a number of mills betwixt the gates of the temple and St. Honore, than the Pariſians began to utter complaints *. This made the queen mother fly to her uſual expedient of a negotiation. Neither of the parties were in the temper to make conceſſions. Warmed with the firſt fluſh of hoſtilities, their expoſtulations roſe to mutual invectives. The memorial ſent by

* Thuan. lib. xxxix. p. 829.

the

the prince of Condé, which in one article reflected on the prevalence of Italian policy, offended the queen. A herald was sent from the king, to command the principal chiefs by name, to lay down their arms. The renewal of the conference by the conſtable and his nephews, had no better ſucceſs; and the commanders on both ſides irritated againſt one another, again bent all their thoughts to the operations of war.

WHILE the proteſtants ſought the honour and advantage of annoying the capital, unprovided with proviſions and ammunition, and the catholics exerted all their endeavours to repel the audacious blow; we may imagine the ſtrenuous emulation of both parties in this ſignal conteſt, and the turbulent commotions it would excite in all the adjacent provinces. To fix themſelves in the beſt poſts, for commanding the navigation and the bridges on the Seine, to extend their quarters, and yet preſerve the communication of them, to facilitate the approach of their own auxiliaries, and to interrupt or bar the paſſages to thoſe of their adverſaries; became the object and labour of the prince of Condé and his adherents. On the contrary the conſtable, and the other catholic chiefs, beſides continual attention and efforts, to defeat all thoſe aims of their adverſaries, had the taſk of providing for the preſent neceſſities of the government, of preſerving its credit and reputation, of diſpatching the proper orders and commiſſions to the lieutenants, and thoſe who commanded the militia in the provinces, and of preventing the confuſed and irregular procedure of the officers and chieftains that might be expected to ariſe from ſuch a ſudden emergency of danger. If we admire, with d'Avila *, the queen mother's judicious deliberation on thoſe critical points, her application to the catholic prince for aid, her

and both parties in difficult circumſtances, exert uncommon efforts of reſolution and diligence.

* Liv. iv.

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ſolicitations of the pope and the republic of Venice for money, and her addreſs in procuring a conſiderable gift from the clergy, and her intercepting the ſum of ſixty thouſand reals which the merchants were remitting to Flanders; we may with more than equal ſurprize and admiration, reflect on the reſolute and perilous undertaking of the opponents of the court, who, without its reſources, and under numberleſs diſadvantages, found the means of beginning and ſuſtaining a warlike attack on the metropolis of a powerful monarchy. The † proteſtant nobility, who puſhed their way through the provinces to join the main body of their chiefs, from the urgency of the occaſion, and their ardour to appear in the field, were attended with ſlender reinforcements. The ſum of thoſe levies, when aſſembled together, are computed at the utmoſt to four thouſand men; and the addition of half that number, compleated the account of the prince of Condé's army. With this inconſiderable number of combatants, having ſecured the paſſage of the Seine at St. Clod by a bridge of boats, taken poſſeſſion of St. Ouen, Aubervilliers, and St. Denis, and from theſe quarters ſwept the detached guards of the enemy from ſeveral turrets and ſmall caſtles on the river, they endeavoured, by ſeizing the bridge of Poiſſi and Pontoiſſe below Paris, and thoſe of Charonton and Montereau-faut-yon above it, to cut off all ſupplies that came by thoſe avenues to the city. Amidſt various ſkirmiſhes, this was almoſt effectually done for ſome time. The count de Montgomery was only prevented from lodging himſelf in Pontoiſſe, by ſome troops which Strozzi had poſted there in his march from Picardy. In thoſe circumſtances it was not ſurpriſing that the Pariſians ſhould exclaim againſt the conſtable Montmorency. The army he commanded in the city was by this time vaſtly increaſed.

But the proteſtants, being far inferior in ſtrength,

† Thuan. lib. 40.

From

From the time when the proteſtants made their firſt aſſault on the court, the principal catholic nobility had exerted their utmoſt diligence in muſtering their military bands, and conducting them to the metropolis. The different corps of the Swiſs, of the old and new levies of French infantry, and the Gendarmerie, formed an army of ſixteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. Beſides volunteers, the city furniſhed a complete regiment, which made a ſplendid ſhew with their finely poliſhed and gilded arms. The firſt annoyance the conſtable gave the enemy was the deſtruction of their pontoons near St. Ouin, which was effected in the night time by ſome veſſels fitted upon the Seine, and manned with ſoldiers, who ſurpriſed the guard of the boats. He employed a detachment of fifteen hundred horſe, and three thouſand foot, with ſome cannon, to reduce the poſt of Buſanval; the commander of which had obtained an honourable capitulation. The carrying of this poſt, indeed involved that of ſeveral others, and opened a free communication by the river on that ſide. It ſeems the conſtable thought, that without marching his forces from Paris, he could defeat the enterpriſe of his antagoniſts, and even vanquiſh and ruin them by ſhirmiſhes, as effectually as in a pitched battle. But the citizens of Paris, and ſeveral of the nobility, were too querulous and impatient, to be ſatisfied with this conduct. It was ſaid that he ſympathized with his kinſmen, and was unwilling to come to blows with his nephews. Montmorency, who in the exerciſe of his duty in the field or the cabinet, uſed to deſpiſe all ſuch reflexions, heard them now for ſome time without much concern. But the reiteration of them, in a city ſo populous and thronged with ſoldiers, was unſupportable. Moved with ſome indignation, he ordered part of the army to march to Chapelle, half way to St. Denis, which was the prince of Condé's head quarters.

ſucceed chiefly in braving the main army of the catholics,

and in raiſing the murmurs of the Pariſians againſt the conſtable Montmorency;

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ters. Having detached five hundred pickt cavalry to harraſs the enemy for a day and a night; early on the tenth of November he began to move the whole army from the city. As he paſſed through the gate, turning to thoſe around * him, "This day," ſaid he aloud, "ſhall acquit me from the detractions of my enemies and the calumny of the vulgar. For either I ſhall return victorious and alive, or meet death in a field revengeful and bloody to the king's foes."

who, touched with indignation, marches his forces out of the city.

THE part already acted by the prince of Condé and his confederates, had all the appearance of ſignal reſolution and bravery. It may ſtill however be ſuppoſed, that having no incumbrance of cannon, and little baggage, they truſted in their promptitude to evade a battle by a retreat, and valued not the diſcredit of it. Without doubt this was the ſentiment and confidence of ſeveral among them. Warned, and ſenſible of their danger of being overwhelmed, when even the ſmall number of their troops, diminiſhed by the detachment of d'Andelot with a large body to ſecure Poiſſi, did not amount to a ſixth part of their enemies; it was no wonder that the propoſal of the ſafeſt retreat was inſiſted upon by ſome in the council of war. But the principal commanders conſulted chiefly, whether they ought to abandon the poſts of St. Ouin and Aubervilliers, and make a ſtand with all their forces at St. Denis; or endeavour from theſe lodgments they held, to divert the enemy by ſkirmiſhes and running fight, until they could gradually withdraw from danger. A reſolution more honourable, judicious, and in the main more ſafe, was urged by the prince of Condé, and embraced. He, with great appearance of reaſon, inſiſted that, in

* D'Aubigne, liv. iv. chap. 9.

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their ſituation, a ſet battle was not half ſo hazardous as a retreat, however well planned †. Various arguments, beſides thoſe reſpecting reputation, concurred to ſupport this opinion. The danger always attending a running combat, from the diſcovery and ſenſation of weakneſs it conveys to the ſoldiers, and the contrary effect it produces in thoſe of the enemy, its approximation to confuſion and ſhameful flight, were obvious reaſons in favour of it; which became ſtronger from the conſideration of the open country through which the propoſed retreat was now to be attempted. There was alſo a conſiderable diminution of the danger of a general engagement, from the ſhortneſs of the day in November; moſt of the hours of which might paſs away in the arrangement of the armies before the action enſued. In the full conviction of the comparative advantage of this ſpirited reſolution, the proteſtant chiefs drew out their troops from their three poſts, choſe their ground, and ordered their battalia with all the compoſure and intrepidity of men, who prepared to engage in the moſt equal combat. The admiral from St. Ouin formed on the right, Genlis Lavordin, and de Vardes, from Aubervilliers, ranged their corps on the left; and the prince of Condé with the main body from St. Denis, compoſed the center. The probability there was that the conſtable would bend his principal force againſt Aubervilliers, where the plain widened, induced them to run a trench along that quarter, till it joined a mill, which they lined with Arquebuſſers; their left cloſing with the banks of the Seine, which could not be doubled by the enemy. In each of the three diviſions, the cavalry formed the van, and the foot ſeparated into as many different bodies, were drawn up behind them. The conſtable who moved

The proteſtant chiefs, though ſenſible of their inferiority, reſolve to ſtand the combat, and

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engage in the battle of St. Denis.

† Thuan. ibid. D'Avila, ibid.

ſlowly

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slowly from the city, was surprised to find them ranging their petty army in order of battle ‡. The disposition of his army on the right, being calculated for the assault of Aubervilliers, the main body of the Swiss, the flower of the French infantry, and all his cannon were placed there. The marshal de Cosse and Biron covered this division, with their troops of horse; while the marshal Montmorency his son, was advanced with a large detachment of cavalry before his center, and the rest of the gendarmes, together with the Parisian regiment, and some musqueteers, were ranged on the left wing. A body of reserve, composed of the troops of the duke of Aumale and Henry d'Amville, was formed in the rear. The discharge of the constable's artillery began the action on the right. Genlis finding his division incommoded by it, ordered his lieutenant De Vardes to advance with a party, and charge the enemy. The repulse of this brisk attack having brought most of the cavalry which pushed de Vardes to the side of the trench, they were there saluted with a sharp fire. At the same time Genlis opening his ranks, his foot advanced, and poured their shot on the enemy, while he again forming his line in order, proceeded with De Vardes to make a vigorous assault on the broken troops of the catholics. The admiral perceiving the action on the right to become general, put the troops in motion, and having advertized the prince of Condé of his intention, began to engage the enemy in the same manner Genlis had done, by advancing his foot before his cavalry. By the regular fire the line of infantry made, and the impetuous charge which followed it, the troops on the left of the enemy were broke, and their horse wheeling on the regiment of Paris, a general confusion approaching to a total rout ensued. Immedi-

And by means of good conduct in the action;

‡ Thuan. lib. xl. p. 834. Castel. liv. vi. chap. 7.

ately

ately after this the prince of Condé puſhed forward to throw his diviſion on the conſtable's center, which on the left lay open and expoſed. He alſo marched his foot before him; but as he advanced, the marſhal Montmorency obſerving his aim, made a wheel to fall on the flank of his ſquadron. The prince leaving his foot, and a part of his line, to encounter the marſhal, ruſhed with a full career againſt the gendarmerie of the center. Diſorder already begun there, by the rout of the left wing, facilitated the impreſſion of the charge. In a few minutes the main body gave way. The old conſtable deſerted by his troops, and wounded in the face, was ſeen endeavouring to rally his fugitives. In this poſture he ſtood, collected in his fortitude like the antique ſtatue of a brave gladiator wore out, and yet defending himſelf in the Circus. Diſdaining to ſurrender, when required by Robert Stuart, a Scottiſh captain, and reſiſting with a vigour of body and ſpirit rarely found at his age, he daſhed the pommel of his ſword, which was broke, againſt the teeth of his adverſary. A piſtol ſhot from behind, pierced him in the reins; and ſoon after he ſunk down to the ground. At no great diſtance, and almoſt at the ſame inſtant, the prince of Condé's horſe being wounded, and falling with him, it was with difficulty he could be diſengaged from danger *. The marſhal Montmorency had, by this time, not only routed the detachment ſent againſt him, but ſome troops of the left wing, that were not broke, rallying about him, he had begun to make havock of part of the admiral's ſquadron. D'Aumale and D'Amville, who had not engaged, being aſſured that the Swiſs on the right ſtill kept their ground, and that the marſhal Montmorency was victorious, haſtened to advance their body of reſerve from the rear.

in which the conſtable is ſeverely wounded,

bring it in the iſſue, to what may be called a drawn battle.

* Brantome de Conſtable, tom. ii. D'Aubigne, ibid. D'Avila, ibid.

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rear. But while the hurry on the one ſide to reſcue the conſtable, and on the other, the attention to recover and remount the prince of Condé, ſuſpended the renewal of the combat; the night approached and put an end to any more obſtinate contention for the diſputable victory. The prince of Condé drew off his troops to St. Denis, and the marſhal Montmorency thought only of the means to ſave his father's life.

The poſſeſſion of the field the whole night after the action, and the diſpoſal of the dead, which are the allowed evidences of ſuperiority, remained with the catholics. Their adverſaries would not ſuffer thoſe advantages to be honoured with the name of a victory, and ſeveral adepts in the military ſcience queſtioned, whether the iſſue of the combat, which did not continue above three quarters of an hour, could be reckoned any thing more than a drawn battle. But the prince of Condé, and his proteſtant chiefs, had a better title to claim the palm of ſuperior valour and conduct, in the battle of St. Denis; an excellency which was more honourable, and more manifeſt, than the ſimple victory their antagoniſts could boaſt. There are few inſtances in the various actions of the civil war, in which we have ſo much reaſon to admire the judgment of a council of war in a difficult conjuncture. The boldneſs of the reſolution to fight, with ſuch unequal numbers, was the dictate of penetration, not of temerity. The order and plan of battle was ingeniouſly contrived. The facility and ſpirit with which it was executed, ſhewed its propriety and effect. That the enemies foot, which amounted to four times the number of the prince of Condé's troops, were not engaged, may be reckoned a neceſſary conſequence of it, as well as of their improper poſition. In one inſtance a fault ſeems to have been committed in the execution;

which alſo failed by an accident. Perhaps the prince of Condé ſhould either have engaged the marſhal Montmorency, or not thrown away a part of his ſquadron, which was inſufficient to reſiſt his charge. A Turkiſh horſe which the admiral rode proved untractable, and hurried him into the midſt of the enemy when they gave way. The report of his being taken and concealed in Paris, by a catholic officer who was his friend, does not correſpond with his appearance at St. Denis, almoſt at the ſame time with the other chiefs *. The intrepid bravery of the prince of Condé's troops was witneſſed by the Ottoman ambaſſador, who, invited in the company of ſome of the courtiers, to behold the battle from a tower adjacent, could not help expreſſing his ſurprize in the following manner: "If the Seignior my maſter, ſaid he, had only two thouſand of theſe white ſcarfs to place at the head of his ſeveral armies, the univerſe would not ſtand againſt him for two years." The impropriety of his being admitted a ſpectator of the field of battle, is remarked by the hiſtorians. On either ſide the loſs ſuſtained of three or four hundred, was conſiderable, chiefly on account of the quality of thoſe who fell; and in this reſpect the proteſtants ſuffered more than the catholics. Of the latter there were reckoned forty gentlemen killed; but excepting the count de Chaune, none of them of diſtinguiſhed rank. Beſides the ſlaughter of fifty of the proteſtant nobleſſe, the fall of the counts de Saux, of the vidame of Amiens, and ſeveral others of eminent fame and dignity, aggravated the computation of the havock of their forces.

Among other teſtimonies to the valour ſhewn by them, that expreſſed by the Ottoman ambaſſador was remarkable.

THE conſtable's fate was reckoned by the proteſtants to balance the liſt of their eminent dead, and † to be a trophy of their ſignal

* D'Aubigne, liv. iv. chap. 9. † Brantome Eloge de Connet.

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But the moſt important and memorable incident was

proweſs in the combat. Having recovered from the faint that overwhelmed his ſpirits, he aſked why the victory was not aſcertained by the purſuit of the enemy? "I die," ſaid he to his friend de Sanſay; "but could I have contrived or wiſhed a fairer death, or a funeral in a nobler tomb? Tell my king, and the queen, that I have found at laſt, in this day's wounds, the happy and laudable exit I ſo often ſought for under his royal father and grandfire." The elevation of his ſpirit was ſuch, that it was with the greateſt difficulty his ſons prevailed with him to allow them to attempt the cure of his wounds, by tranſporting him to Paris. When compoſed on the bed of death, after the performance of the catholic rites, an officious confeſſor ſtill fatigued him with exhortations. "Do you believe," ſaid Montmorency, "I have lived near eighty years in the world, and that I know not how to die one quarter of an hour?" He expired the ſecond day after the battle.

the death of the conſtable Montmorency.

His actions and character, though they have not an equal elevation, appear ſtill like different views of the ſame picture. An unpenetrating eye that perceives not the prevailing uniformity, will be at a loſs to diſcover their true colouring. His ideas of honour and reputation, circumſcribed by thoſe of his political duty and attachment, form the connecting line. Illuſtrious for a ſeries of time by acting in one ſphere, his genius, his temper, and his habits, rendered him incapable in other circumſtances of deviating from it. In the firſt ſituation he had the glory of an able ſtateſman, and the advantages of a favourite miniſter; and in the other he ſhewed the influence the principle of honeſty had over him as a man. Proud and opiniative in his principles, he choſe rather to unite with the enemies of his family, than follow a medium in the conteſt about religion. He was preſent in eight pitched battles; and in three of them he commanded in chief. To be made a priſoner

Reflections on his character.

ſoner in two, and in the third to loſe his life, was a remarkable inſtance of ill-fortune. Superannuated as Montmorency was, France ſtill wanted him to prop and regulate the adminiſtration; and the queen mother feigning that ſenſation of the loſs of him which the public expreſſed, ordered his effigy to be carried at his funeral, a ceremony uſed only at the deceaſe of the king, or of the ſons of France.

To elevate the ſpirits of their partizans, to redouble the efforts of their activity and valour, and augment the report of the forces aſſembling, and the enterprizes meditated by their followers in different parts of the kingdom, became the neceſſary aim and employment of the proteſtant chiefs. D'Andelot and Montgomery having refitted ſome pontoons on the Seine, and joined the army in the night after the battle; a defiance of the catholic forces to a ſecond engagement was atchieved by them in the morning. Some out-guards being beat off, the mills in which they lodged were ſet on fire, and incurſions made to the ſuburbs of Paris. The conſtable's death and obſequies having the effect to occupy the catholic chiefs, and compoſe the Pariſians, thoſe bravades of the enemy were more eaſily endured. The court alſo every day expected the arrival of the count d'Aremberg with the ſuccours from Flanders, and had ſome ground to believe that the princes of Germany would not be ſo forward, as formerly, in aſſiſting the prince of Condé *. De Lanſac the king's envoy, had been inſtructed to repreſent the preſent inſurrection as proceeding from motives different from thoſe of liberty of conſcience, and the maintenance of the edict of pacification. The duke of Saxe, and the marquis of Baden, had

Both the contending parties having applied for German ſuccours,

* D'Aubigne, liv. iv. chap. 10.

already

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already contracted with the king for four thouſand Reiters, and the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg were perſwaded to permit thoſe levies. But the proteſtant chiefs underſtood too well the importance of the reſources of Germany, to allow their adverſaries to ſupplant them in that quarter. Their agents Francourt and Chatellier had appeared at the court of Frederick the elector Palatine, to ſolicit his alliance and aid. Duke Caſimir his ſon, being ſoon engaged in their ſervice, was only detained from compleating his levies, and beginning his march for France, by ſcruples the court envoys had raiſed in his father's mind about the ambitious deſigns of the prince of Condé. The report made by a ſpecial meſſenger ſent by the count palatine, quickly removed this reſtraint; and Caſimir, with the true ſpirit of an adventurer fond of the command of an army, and fluſhed with the hopes of ſignalizing and enriching himſelf in an expedition to France, prepared to enter the kingdom with an army of ſeven thouſand Reiters, and three thouſand Lanſquenets. The point of delicacy with reſpect to foreign auxiliaries, was now ſo far from being pretended by the parties at war, that it was rather matter of conteſt and triumph, which of them ſhould ſecure the greater ſhare of them.

the news of Caſimir being on his march to aſſiſt the proteſtants, is received by them,

The tidings of Caſimir having taken his rout for France, being received two days after the battle of St. Denis; the proteſtant confederates were no longer at a loſs whither to direct their courſe. In other reſpects their ſituation was ſuch, as might have rendered it a queſtion hard to be properly reſolved. Though during the blockade of Paris *, la Noue by a rare inſtance of valour and conduct, had, with ſcarce a troop of ſoldiers, poſſeſſed himſelf of Orleans, and even reduced the citadel; though the city of Rochelle

* D'Aubigne, ibid. chap. 10.

by

by a piece of ſingular management in the election of Truchart to the mayoralty, had been ſecured for the prince of Condé, and a conſiderable body of forces under the chieftains, St. Cire Soubiſe Pluviant, and St. Martine, had advanced from Guienne and Xaintonge into Poictou, and having taken Dorat and Luzignan, threatened the capital of the province; yet the great ſuperiority of the catholics in the numbers and appointment of their main army; and their power of obſtructing the progreſs of thoſe provincial reinforcements, was ſufficient to have created a pauſe in the preſent counſels and operations of the proteſtant leaders. After ſome days repoſe in their quarters near Paris, they now turned off to Montereau-faut-yone, which was the paſſage whence they could taket he proper departure for the confines of Lorain. It was the firſt happy conſequence of the reduction of Orleans, that the provincial troops from Poictou having bent their rout that way, found in it a deſireable retreat; and being furniſhed with three pieces of artillery, they were enabled to make themſelves maſters of Pont-ſur-Yonne. The admiral Coligni was in the neighbourhood, and immediately marched up to join them. They were by this junction on the ſouth of the Seine, not far from Sens, where Henry the young duke of Guiſe, lately returned from the wars in Hungary, had drawn together a number of the nobility of Burgundy. The admiral having made a feint to advance towards Sens, turned ſuddenly to Bray on the Seine, forced Combaud who held it to ſurrender, and paſſed his troops without moleſtation. Nogent and ſome other poſts being ſeized, the different bodies of the army bent their courſe to Epernay on the Marnes. Here the queen regent thought to detain them by meſſages of peace. It was always the prince of Condé's diſpoſition to hearken to terms, and though the vidame of Chartres, and others of the chiefs declared, that all ſuch

overtures

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which, after some consultations, determines them to proceed to the frontiers,

overtures ought to be rejected as mere artifice, an assignation was made for a meeting of deputies at Montereau; which failed on the side of the courtiers. It was now matter of consultation and debate among the leaders of the army, whether the continuation of their march to meet Casimir on the distant confines of the kingdom, consisted with their reputation and credit. In their circumstances after the battle of St. Denis, when they had made no preparations for such a rout, and the royal army daily augmenting, would be soon put in motion to follow them, it had so much the appearance of a flight, that the admiral proposed to stop short, and content themselves with sending a party of their Noblesse to conduct Casimir. But the vidame of Chartres insisted that the safest and most expedient counsel ought always to be deemed reputable, and that to accomplish the material point of joining with him, would contribute both to their advantage and honour. When Coligni admitted the justice of the opinion, some contended further; that for the sake of expedition, the marching army should be composed only of their cavalry, and that the foot might be left behind to maintain the different posts they possessed. This scheme the admiral strenuously opposed. It was indeed demonstrable that the infantry would have been exposed by it to certain destruction, and the whole of those weak lodgements forced by the catholic army in a few days *. Not to divide their small army, thus appearing a necessary resolution, the order of their march was fixed. The prince of Condé led the van with his main battle, the admiral followed with the left wing, and D'Andelot with all the musqueteers they could mount on horseback, covered their flanks, and forraged for the army; de Mouy having the command of the light cavalry, closed the rear. The conduct necessary in abandoning

in order to meet him.

December.

* D'Aubigne, chap. 10.

their

their various poſts ſo near the quarters of the enemy, the danger and difficulty of purſuing a long and winding march through the borders of Champaigne, where they had no place of refuge in caſe of a diſaſter, may be eaſily imagined.

The vacancy of the conſtable's office, and the removal of one ſo eminent in dignity and power as Montmorency were circumſtances of great importance to the preſent and future conduct of affairs. The queen mother was now freed from the apprehenſion of any controuler of her political management, and had the diſpoſal of the chief command of the army in her power. Having anticipated this event in her mind, ſhe had already conformed her ſchemes to it, and even adjuſted her affections as a mother to her ambition. This appeared by her early deſtination of her ſon the duke of Anjou to the rank and office of a lieutenant general, and by her inſiſting on this meaſure, notwithſtanding the jealouſy and averſion to it Charles diſcovered *. "I am able enough," he was heard to ſay, "to bear myſelf the conſtable's ſword, and have no occaſion to appoint a younger lieutenant to command my armies." The arguments Catharine had to alledge in ſupport of this point, ſo neceſſary to ſecure her future authority, were plauſible; and Charles knew not how to controvert her dictates. A change of the principal commanders in the army, ſuch as ſhe wiſhed to ſee, was the immediate effect of it †. From the appointment of the marſhals de Coſſe and de Tavannes, to be the duke of Anjou's chief counſellors in war, and the pretenſions of the duke of Monpenſier, as a prince of the blood, to have the precedency in the field next to the general, the marſhal Montmorency, and his brother

The queen mother, notwithſtanding Charles's averſion to it,

confers the office of lieutenant general on the duke of Anjou.

* Brantome de Charles IX.

† D'Avila, liv. iv.

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d'Amville, deemed themſelves excluded from their rank, and even the duke of Aumale conceived ſome ſecret diſſatisfaction. While thoſe military tranſpoſitions raiſed diſguſts, and perplexed the counſels of the court, the motions of the royal army were interrupted, and inſtead of an immediate effort being made to fall on the proteſtants, time was conſumed in mean endeavours to decoy them from purſuing the career of their march, by artful propoſitions of peace *. The negotiators paſſed betwixt the camps, and a truce agreed on for three days had ſcarcely expired, when the count de Briſſac attacked a diviſion of the enemy at Sarri near Chalons, and by defeating the three captains Bloſſet, Bois, and Cari, occaſioned a confuſion that might have proved pernicious to the reſt of the army. But the principal chiefs of the catholic army, were not well agreed either in their ſentiments or plan of action. Some of them underſtood the queen mother's intentions in treaties of this kind, and were diſpoſed to be no more ſcrupulous than ſhe, on the point of honour. Others inclined to retain their military command, and expoſe their reputation to no unneceſſary riſque, governed their conduct by a different rule. The aſſault that was begun, and the remiſſneſs or neglect of puſhing a general engagement, evidently ſhewed the diſagreement among the general officers; and while the diſcord was increaſed by alternate diſputes about what ſhould and might have been performed; the prince of Condé, by an accelerated march ſtretched toward the river Meuſe, and having paſſed it at St. Michael, arrived in the territory of Loraine. Fatigued and exhauſted with exceſſive toil and ſcanty ſubſiſtance, the army expected now to meet duke Caſimir. Five days paſſed without poſitive intelligence of him. Fruſtrated of this

Whilſt diſputes among the catholic commanders

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hinder their military operations;

* Thuan. ibid. p. 840. Brantome de Briſſac.

hope,

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hope, which alone afforded a view of relief, the wearied troops were ſeized with the gloomy fits of impatience and deſpair. Hardly did the prince of Condé's ſprightly humour and gaiety, or the admiral's grave exhortations, divert and reſtrain them from reſolving to diſband and ſhift for themſelves. The welcome news of Caſimir's army being in the neighbourhood came; but to the chief officers the joy of it was allayed with the recollection, that the large ſum of a hundred thouſand crowns, had been expreſſly ſtipulated to be paid to the German prince on the day he joined the confederates. To obviate this new ground of diſquiet and perplexity, the only reſource was a grievous one. A trial was made to levy a contribution from troops, which had the utmoſt difficulty to purchaſe ſubſiſtence for themſelves. Upon the prince of Condé ſetting the example by giving up his money, his plate, and his rings, there was ſeen a noble and ſurpriſing emulation among the chief captains for liberality. The common ſoldiers and the lacqueys of the camp, affected with it, and with the harangues of the miniſters, alſo contended with each other in preſenting their gifts. A collection of thirty thouſand crowns was in this manner obtained; and even the Germans, underſtanding how this moiety of their payment was earned, declared themſelves for the preſent ſatisfied with it.

the junction of duke Caſimir with the proteſtants is effectuated.

January 11.

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CHAP. II.

Combats and rencounters in the provinces—Siege of Chartres—Peace concluded—Account of the French attempts to colonize in America—Secret preparations to ſeize the prince of Condé and the admiral—Their eſcape to Rochelle—Paſſage of the Loire by d'Andelot—De l'Hoſpital's reſignation of his office—Command of the catholic army given to the duke of Anjou.

THE principal armies of the catholics and proteſtants, before their expedition into Champagne, would have received conſiderable reinforcements from the provinces, but their different partizans found immediate employment in trying the ſtrength, and oppoſing the deſigns of each other *. The proteſtant forces which the count de Tende's ſon in Province, and Montbrun raiſed in Dauphiny, were engaged by the order of d'Acier, who had the chief command in the ſouthern provinces, in reducing Nimes, Montpelier, and other places in Languedoc. Seven thouſand aſſembled by the captains de Poulin, Bourniquet, Montclar and Caumont, and three other chiefs, who all together had the title of the viſcounts, betook themſelves to the ſiege of Fronton, and the aſſaults of ſuch other ſmall garriſons of the catholics on the Rhone and in Dauphiny, as created either dread or annoyance to the country around. Moſt of the provincial chiefs on both ſides were, in this manner, both obliged and diſpoſed to undertake various expeditions, without any concert with the principal commanders, and upon plans which were ſolely contrived by themſelves. The troops which followed them often could not be induced to

The combats and encounters of the chiefs in the provinces,

* D'Aubigne, liv. iv. chap. 12.

march

march to any great diſtance from their native counties; and when they met with a ruffle, were apt ſuddenly to retreat and diſperſe. We may have occaſion afterwards to obſerve to what exceſs the chiefs of the provinces ſtretched this privilege of independent war. Even when they were able, and intended to join the main armies, difference of opinion among the captains, and occurrences of little moment produced heſitation and delay which frequently ruined the deſign *. Ponſenac, Verbelet and Louvez raiſed three thouſand foot and five hundred horſe from Auverne Fores and Beaujolois, for the ſervice of the prince of Condé, and fixed a day for their rendezvous and their march. It was then diſputed whether they ought not rather to wait till ſome other reinforcement came up; and when this was agreed to, they began in the mean time to amuſe themſelves with little enterprizes, and Louvez ſeparated from them. Montaré, the duke of Nemours, lieutenant in the Bourboneſe, adviſed the catholic chiefs, Terride and Monſalez, who marched near Forez with the levies of Guienne, how they lay expoſed to a blow. Though it was only a ſudden rout, with little fighting or bloodſhed, the diſperſion of Ponſenac's ſoldiers was ſo general, that he could with difficulty pick up a hundred and twenty horſe to make a ſtraggling retreat to Valence. By the mention of ſome of thoſe incidents in the provincial combats, it is not intended that a ſpecial eſtimate may be formed of the comparative advantages and loſſes on either ſide. It is impoſſible often to judge what was the conſequence or effect of many of thoſe petty victories and defeats. It is ſufficient, if the ſketch here given ſerve as a drapery to the picture of France, involved in every quarter in civil war. As the reduction of towns ſcattered the forces of the proteſtants, and hindered the

are carried on confuſedly,

and with various and uncertain ſucceſſes.

* Thuan. ibid. p. 839.

augmentation

Book V. 1568. augmentation of their main army, we may reckon that the detachment of four thouſand troops from d'Acier's corps, which, under Mouvan and the viſcounts, marched towards Orleans, proved at this time of more utility to their party than the ſeizure of ſeveral places that could eaſily be retaken. This body had the good fortune to revenge Ponſenac's rout on the catholic captains, St. Geran de Gordes and St. Chaumont, who having drawn together about Cogniac the forces of Auverne to the number of eight hundred horſe and two thouſand foot, were ſurpriſed and defeated. The timely arrival of the viſcounts for the relief of Orleans was of much greater moment. It was one of the conſequences of the prince of Condé's haſty departure to meet the Germans, that this important place whither the princeſs his wife and other proteſtant ladies had retreated, was ſcarcely provided of a ſufficient garriſon. The ſurprize of it had been attemped by the count de Martinengues, who with a reſolute body of horſemen narrowly failed poſſeſſing himſelf of the gate Barriere. Being now obliged to retire to Blois, the viſcounts, who were furniſhed with ſome pieces of cannon, and a reinforcement from Orleans, followed him thither, and by a well judged attack forced Richlieu, who commanded in the town, to capitulate. On the other hand, Lewis de Gonzaguo, ſecond ſon of the duke of Mantua, who by his marriage with the heireſs of Nevers was inveſted with the title and eſtate of that French dukedom, had collected a large body of Italian and Swiſs troops, which in their paſſage through Dauphiny and the Lioneſe, being increaſed by the corps of Mougiron and the baron des Adretz, now turned catholic, were computed to no leſs than fourteen thouſand men. Nevers conducted thoſe troops into Champagne, and joined the duke of Anjou. Montluc, on being obliged to change the ſcene of his exploits from Guienne to the neighbourhood of Rochelle, pro-

jected much without being able to execute any important design, and the baron des Andrets on changing sides no longer equalled the enterprizing genius of his rival, nor the former report of his own rueful fame.

The augmentation of the duke of Anjou's army by the count d'Aremberg's auxiliaries, and other foreign troops, and the numerous reinforcements from the provinces, discovered the unquestionable superiority of the catholics above their antagonists; from which, however, the court reaped not any suitable proportion of advantage or honour. The retreat of the protestant confederates in the rigorous season of winter to the borders of the kingdom, without the ordinary convoys of ammunition or stores for refitting either the arms or clothes of their soldiers, instead of rendering them an easy prey to a powerful army that followed them, proved in the issue a sort of triumph. When the negotiations for peace were again renewed, and the main articles agreed on, the court, as if still watching an occasion to strike the blow they had missed, prolonged and then * broke off the treaty. "Why, said the cardinal of Chatillon, do we defer the conclusion of such a business, when we may understand what each day's delay costs the kingdom in blood and treasure." Being asked what method he could propose for establishing a lasting peace. "I know of none, replied he, so essential as to prevent its being made in order to be violated." The behaviour of the courtiers too fully justified this reflection on their artifices. Diverted from laying siege to Orleans, or cutting off the reinforcements that gradually arrived there, having affected no military atchievement that could be boasted of, in the pursuit of a retiring enemy, inadvertent even to the credit of concluding

Though superior in forces, the catholics reap small advantages;

* D'Aubigne, liv. iv. chap. 19.

a truce,

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a truce, or the general terms of a treaty, before the prince of Condé had joined Caſimir, the catholic commanders were now obliged to conſider how thoſe deficiencies in their conduct could be compenſated; when, after this junction, the proteſtant confederates were become more nearly a match for them in the field. From Pont-a-Mouſon the German prince tranſmitted a manifeſto to the king of France, in which he ſignified, that having come, not as a mercenary adventurer, but to protect thoſe of the ſame religion with the proteſtants of the empire, he was diſpoſed to advance with his troops, upon the refuſal of liberty of conſcience, or retire from the kingdom on the proper grant of it to them. It was now the buſineſs of the confederates to penetrate again into the interior parts of France. The capacity of the commanders appeared by the plan ſettled for the regular march, and the proviſion made for the ſupply of the army. Its diſcipline being diſſolved by the late neceſſity, and its wants and rapacity increaſed by the acceſſion of the Germans; the beſt expedients which in their preſent circumſtances could be employed to mitigate both thoſe evils, were ſtudied and practiſed. "It is a monſter, ſaid Coligni, ſpeaking of an army, which muſt firſt be formed by the belly." His regulations on the preſent occaſion correſponded to his maxim. All the waggons and carriages, which belonged to the chiefs and private officers, were loaded with proviſions for the troops. To every company of the cavalry, one baker and two baggage-horſes were aſſigned. A diſtribution of bread was ordered to be made among the infantry every day when they took up their quarters. Officers were appointed to receive the compoſitions of towns that yielded. For preventing the danger of widening their quarters, to which the neceſſity of ſhelter and ſubſiſtence obliged them, the propereſt diſpoſition

and give inconſiderable oppoſition to the regular march of their adverſaries,

position of the army was made, and a slight entrenchment ordered to be thrown up about their different lodgements. Under such arrangement, while the military order of their march directed the division of their quarters to avoid the duke of Anjou's army, they bent their course a different way towards Burgundy; and having passed betwixt Chaumont and Joinville, and advanced near Langress, they reached the sources of the Seine. A party of the Italian bands, posted here by the duke of Nevers, to oppose their passage of the fords, was put to flight. Having met with no considerable opposition, they proceeded to the passage of the Loin at Montargis, and soon arrived in the county of Beausse, and the neighbourhood of Orleans.

who arrive in the neighbourhood of Orleans.

THE commanders of the catholic army having slipt the opportunity of forcing the confederates, under the disadvantages of weakness and discouragements, to a general engagement, and the queen mother being always afraid to hazard a decisive battle, nothing was attempted against the prince of Condé, now reinforced by the German auxiliaries. Catherine's * regard for the personal safety of her darling son, disposed her the more to excuse the generals who were blamed, and to favour their cautious conduct. Her natural subtlety and refinement easily represented the scheme of spinning out the scene of military operations, as destructive and insupportable to them, whose strength consisted in hired auxiliaries, which they were unable to pay. Satisfied that the army, unexposed to loss or diminution by a rencounter, should return to cover the metropolis, and desirous to pursue the safest course, she dispatched Castelnau to hasten the Reiters, which the duke of Saxe had engaged to furnish to the king. The prince of Condé,

Encouraged by the inactivity of the catholics,

* Brantome de Charles IX.

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however, finding the county of Beauce left open to him †, and ſenſible that his army, which could be recruited and ſupplied with proviſions from Orleans, would ſuffer in diſcipline and reputation by inactivity, determined immediately to employ it in the ſiege of Chartres. The convenience of this large city for a place of arms, and its contiguity to Orleans, were more conſiderable than its ſtrength or importance in other reſpects. The attack of it being chiefly deſigned to ſhew the power of the confederates, and to alarm the city of Paris, which was not far diſtant from it; the prince of Condé, with the main army, made a forced march of twenty leagues in two days; and on the twenty-firſt of February inveſted the town. The reluctance of the citizens to admit the firſt party of the catholic troops appointed for the garriſon, was an indication that the reſiſtance of Chartres would not be long or obſtinate. But the choice of Linieres, a chevalier of the order, and an officer of valour and ſkill, to have the command, compenſated ſeveral diſadvantages attending the beſieged place. His troops, amounting to four thouſand, were ſcarcely ſufficient to man the wide ramparts, which were defective both in ſtructure and contrivance. He raiſed entrenchments behind the walls, and prevailed on the townſmen to aſſiſt in repairing the works, and took all proper meaſures for repelling the attacks of the aſſailants. The efforts made by the confederate chiefs to advance their batteries and manage their attacks, and diſtreſs the town, were no leſs aſſiduous and reſolute. After ſome ineffectual trials to open a breach near the gate of Dreux, the enterprize of turning off the river near d'Eure, which run through the town, was undertaken and executed. The ſuſpenſion of the corn-mills, which enſued from

the prince of Condé undertakes the ſiege of Chartres;

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which being brought near to a ſurrender;

† D'Aubigne, ibid. chap. 16.

thence, and the ſcarcity of other proviſions, would have ſoon brought the city to a capitulation. But while Linieres protracted his defence to extremity, a treaty of peace, again renewed and promoted by the intercourſe of de Meſme, lord of Malaſſiſe, and de Combalt, commiſſioners from the court, with the cardinal of Chatillon, was on the point of being finiſhed at Longjumeau. Both parties diſcovered, by the concluſion of it, their different genius and ſituation. Bold and confident only in the efficacy of her policy, apprehenſive about the uncertain events of war, and in the midſt of her care for the duke of Anjou, and the embarraſſed ſtate of the government; ſolicitous to try the leſs perilous extenſion of her beloved arts, the queen mother ſought a temporary agreement as the moſt convenient and deſirable refuge. United by a ſenſe of common danger, apt to dread the ſiniſter deſigns of their adverſaries, and eaſily rouzed to ſtrike ſome formidable blow, the prince of Condé and his aſſociates having breathed their ſudden indignation, and run their firſt career of bravery, were diſpoſed to abate of their ardor, and liſten eaſily to terms of accommodation. This was the general temper of the two parties during the civil war *. At this juncture, alike wearied of the demands and expenſive ſupport of the Reiters and other foreign troops, they were both engaged by neceſſity to conſent to an agreement. It was obvious to ſeveral of the proteſtant chiefs, that the court deſired a treaty to preſerve Chartres, and to be extricated from the preſent incumbrances the war had created. The admiral Coligni judged it unſeaſonable to conclude the peace, before the Pariſians were further terrified by the reduction of that town. But the generality of the chieftains wiſhed and longed to have a reſpite from hoſti-

a peace, called that of Chartres, is concluded between the parties,

* Memoires de Caſtel. liv. vi. chap. 11.

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lities, which always expoſed their eſtates and families to havock and ruin; and, by the uninterrupted labours of a winter campaign, at this time, had obliged them to ſubſiſt almoſt in the ſame manner as the common ſoldiers. The articles of peace were found eaſy to be ſettled, when the commanders on both ſides thus conſpired in their purpoſes. Upon the point of religion, they were reduced to one general head, that of the full reſtoration of the laſt

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edict of pacification ſigned at Amboiſe, without the reſtrictions annexed to it by the ordinance of Rouſſillon, or any other explanative ſtatutes. The king being in majority *, there was no reference made to his future will and pleaſure, but the edict was declared to be ratified until it pleaſed God to unite France in the bond of one religion. The moſt ſpeedy promulgation of the articles by the parliaments and their punctual execution were ſtipulated by the court. It was agreed that all the foreign troops ſhould be preſently diſmiſſed. Thoſe of prince Caſimir, as well as others, being paid their arrears, and contract money by the king; part of which was to be underſtood as his gratuity, and the reſt to be reimburſed by the proteſtants †. Tranſacting the diſcharge of the Germans proved no eaſy buſineſs. The duke of Saxe, to whom Caſtelnau had carried a rich preſent of the pictures of the royal family, and whoſe Reiters, levied in twenty-ſeven days, were arrived on the frontiers, baulked and provoked at the order to countermand them, was hardly pacified with a ſum of compenſation. Some part of Caſimir's payment being delayed for a time, he with difficulty ſubmitted to the indignity, and made a ſlow retreat out of the kingdom. Such was the concluſion of the ſecond civil war, and of that treaty which was called the *little peace*, from its ſhort duration.

by which the foreign troops on both ſides are diſmiſſed.

* Thuan. ibid. p. 848. D'Avila, liv. iv. † Caſtelnau, liv. vi. chap. 11.

AFTER beholding France, for ſuch a tract of time, the ſcene of domeſtic broils and inceſſant diſcord, we would hardly expect to find the hiſtory of this period informing us of her maritime adventures in the new world of America. While the Spaniards and Portugueſe, after the firſt diſcoveries of Columbus, had penetrated into thoſe regions of the globe, called the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, and ſent forth frequent fleets and colonies to ſecure their invaſions of Mexico, Peru, the Braſils, and Goa; the French attempted not to ſhare the golden harveſt, nor yet imitated the later range of the Engliſh into the coaſts of North America. By the neglect and diſcouragement of the marine, even their private adventurers were reſtrained from that ſpirit of enterprize, which then diffuſed itſelf among the other nations *. It was the genius of the admiral Coligni, extended to every object that could advance the honour and intereſt of his country, which firſt produced an attention to this point of national advantage. To ſay with ſome catholic hiſtorians, that his motive was to plant Calviniſm in the weſtern world, when in the reign of Henry II. he employed his intereſt to recommend Villegagnon to the court, and obtain authority for equipping ſome ſhips for a French ſettlement in the Braſils, appeared a commendation too flat and ungenerous, for the merit of this project. Thoſe, who on account of their religion, were expoſed to perſecution and penal tortures at home, moſt readily embarked in ſuch hazardous expeditions; and the ſcheme of preſerving them attached, and rendering them ſerviceable to the ſtate, in a part of the world where they could not diſturb it, muſt be allowed to have been both humane and agreeable to the wiſeſt policy. After the deſtruction of this colony in the Braſils, where

An account of the firſt attempts of the French to colonize in America,

* D'Aubigne, liv. i. chap. 16.

a fort

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a fort was built that bore his name *, Coligni reſumed an enterprize of the ſame kind, and in the beginning of the year in which the firſt civil war aroſe, got the royal commiſſion for ſending John Ribaud, a noted mariner of Dieppe, with two veſſels, to the coaſt of Florida. Near the firth of St. Helen, Fort Carolina was conſtructed; and Ribaud having left his lieutenant, with a garriſon and proviſions, ſailed back to France to obtain a reinforcement and other ſupplies. The confuſions of the kingdom having prevented the ſucceſs of his errand and his return; the garriſon, weak and deſtitute of proviſions, at length abandoned the fort, and in the utmoſt ſtraits found their paſſage to England. At the peace of Orleans, the account of the diſaſter having not yet reached France, the admiral again took care to make another equipment of three ſhips, and appointed Laudonniere, who had been in the former expedition, to command them. On their arrival in Florida, it was judged proper to change the ſituation of the fort to a place more commodious. The affairs of the new ſettlers proſpered, until a party of them, taking advantage of Laudonniere's ſickneſs, made excurſions to the Spaniſh main, and to the iſland of Cuba. Thoſe piracies diſtracted and ruined them; and Laudonniere was on the point of ſetting ſail to France, when Ribaud appeared with ſeven veſſels in the bay. The Spaniards by this time had fitted out a ſquadron of eight ſail; which, coming in the critical time of the debarkation, and while the two commanders diſputed whether to truſt to the defence of the fort, or that of their ſhips, ſo far accompliſhed the deſtruction of the one and the other, that Ladonniere and Ribaud's ſon, glad to eſcape with ſome of their veſſels, carried tidings to France of the ſhocking butchery and cruel inſults com-

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* Thuan. liv. xli. p. 869. D'Aubigne, liv. iv.

mitted

mitted on their countrymen by the Spaniards. Almoſt the whole priſoners being maſſacred, and many of their bodies hung on trees and gibbets; labels affixed to them, bore that this treatment was given them, not as Corſairs and Frenchmen, but as Lutherans and heretics. Laudonniere's complaint of the outrage and indignity done to the honour and name of the French nation, were little regarded at the court; but a remarkable revenge was undertaken by a private perſon, Dominique de Gourgues, a Gaſcoon captain, who being made priſoner in the Tuſcan wars, had been ſent to the gallies by the Spaniards. Inflamed with ſtrong reſentment, which he had ſworn to execute againſt them, and ambitious of appearing ſingle in the vindication of the public wrong; he put his eſtate to ſale; ſtretched his credit for money, and rigged out ſome ſmall veſſels manned with ſoldiers for Florida. His atchievements were no leſs ſurpriſing than the undertaking. With two hundred men and ſome ſavages, he made himſelf maſter of the *Carolin Fort*, and two others erected near it, which were mounted with cannon, and defended by four hundred Spaniſh ſoldiers. He retaliated the butchery and inſcription on the hanged captives. "I have treated you thus, he wrote, not as Spaniards only, but as traitors, robbers, and murderers." Being returned to France, he found the Spaniſh influence at court ſo far ſuperior to the eſteem of his ſignal exploit, and to the taſte for the poſſeſſion of Florida, that he was obliged to avoid the imminent danger of a capital proſecution, by an obſcure retreat. A more hopeful expedition, undertaken a ſhort time before this, by Bertrand de Montluc, the ſon of the general, and purſued on the plan of forming a ſettlement on the Guinea coaſts, and opening to France the tract of the Portugueſe navigation to the Cape of *Good Hope*, and the Eaſt Indies, had been likewiſe

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and on the coaſt of Guinea.

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wiſe attended with a diſaſtrous fate. In the iſland of Madeira, the Portugueſe, who refuſed them admittance for water and proviſions after a ſtorm, were too weak to reſiſt their aſſault; but young Montluc having received a mortal wound in ſtorming the town, the progreſs of the expedition ſtopped, and the diſſipated remainder of the officers and ſoldiers, who ſought their way to different parts of France, were with difficulty protected by the admiral Coligni and old Montluc, from a ſevere judgment of their enterprize upon the remonſtrances of the envoy of Portugal. In this manner, from the inadvertency of the court of France to the public intereſt and the ſubſequent broils of the nation, which increaſed the diſcouragement of the marine, and unhinged every extenſive ſcheme of policy; the French attempts to colonize in the new world proved tardy, irregular and abortive. Half a century paſſed before they endeavoured to make ſome ſmall amends to themſelves, by a ſettlement in the cold and ſnowy region of Canada. When the American dominions of Spain formed an empire, and the Engliſh colonies advanced in population, thoſe of France appeared in their infancy, or only began to ſubſiſt. In the active reign of Lewis XIV. the government underſtood their importance, and ſupported them; and the later regard of the French court to maritime affairs and commercial intereſt, eſtabliſhed them on a firmer foundation. But, notwithſtanding the recent induſtry both of the people of the colonies, and of the government of France, to augment their ſecurity and ſtrength, their comparative inferiority and weakneſs were manifeſt in the late war with the Engliſh. In the conteſt for the dominion of the Indian country of North America, it may be ſaid that France ſuffered for the political maladies ſhe laboured under, in the period of the preſent hiſtory; and that, as ſhe could then eſtabliſh no American ſettlement, ſo ſhe could not

not now maintain with ſucceſs her pretenſions to empire in that part of the globe. 1568.

THREE months ſcarcely paſſed before evident ſigns of an approaching breach of the peace of Chartres appeared. It ſeemed as if it had been agreed only to ſmother for a moment the flame of diſcord, without any purpoſe of extinguiſhing the fire. Yet in the propenſity of the two parties to come to a rupture, a palpable difference may be obſerved. On the part of the proteſtant leaders no deſign or thought of becoming aggreſſors in quarrel and hoſtility ſeems to have been entertained. From the complaints againſt them with reſpect to Coquaville, who aſſembled two thouſand ſoldiers in the borders of Picardy for the ſervice of the prince of Orange, any ſuch intention could not be inferred. What one ſoldier of fortune attempted, at a time when the turmoil of war had hardly ceaſed, was unjuſtly imputed to the chiefs of his party *. All concern in the irregular action was diſowned by the prince of Condé, and Coquaville left to the chaſtiſement of the court, was ſhut up in St. Valeri by the marſhal de Coſſe, and paid for his temerity with the loſs of his head. It is even queſtionable how far the heſitation or refuſal of Montauban, Sancerre, and of ſome other towns in Languedoc and Dauphiny, to reſign their arms, and receive the catholic garriſons, could be chargeable on the proteſtant aſſociates, who had agreed to the terms of peace. Certain it is, that in many of thoſe places, from their ſituation not eaſily acceſſible, ſubjection to authority, or compliance with diſagreeable commands, could not be eaſily obtained. With regard to the oppoſition of Rochelle to admit Jarnac, appointed governor of it by the

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Appearances of diſcord ſoon begin to ariſe between the parties;

* D'Aubigne, liv. iv. chap. 22. Thuan. lib. xlii. Brantome de Briſſac.

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king, it was plain that the citizens, without regulating themſelves by the general meaſures of either party, preſumed to ſtand on their antient privileges; and on the ſeparate footing of them, to debate with the court the equity of the preſent demands made on them, and of the commiſſion which Vielle-Ville was empowered to execute in the city. To behold ſuch a reſiſtive temper in the citizens of ſo important a place as Rochelle, and to obſerve the court and catholic authority controuled in other towns, might afford ſome ſatisfaction, and a deſirable ſecurity to thoſe, who in the conjuncture of a recent agreement, had ſome reaſon to be apprehenſive, and truſted to ſuch reſources, in caſe of danger *. But none of thoſe circumſtances were ſufficient to create freſh indignation againſt the proteſtants, nor furniſh ground of fear for the peace of the ſtate. The prince of Condé had retired to his houſe of Noyers in Burgundy, a catholic province, governed by the marſhal de Tavannes, where he could give no umbrage to the court. The admiral's retreat was equally unſuſpicious. In this ſituation, the rehearſal of the inſolencies of the catholics, and of the oppoſition given by them in various parts to the execution of the edict, was daily heard by them; and amidſt that diſguſtful narrative of real and alledged violences, which ſtill beſpoke the reign of the antient ſpirit of enmity to their party; they were particularly ſtruck with the account of the murder of Cipiere, the count de Tendé's ſon, by the catholic mob at Frejus, in the preſence of the magiſtrate. Affected with thoſe and many other alarms †, we ſhall ſuppoſe, with ſome hiſtorians, that the reſiſtance of the towns was privately encouraged by them, while we recollect, at the ſame time, that ſeveral groſs bodies of the foreign troops, and the whole of the French bands,

but the court ſhews more propenſity to come to a rupture than the proteſtant chiefs;

* Addit. aux Caſtel. liv. vii. chap. 1.

† D'Avila, liv. iv.

contrary to the terms of the accommodation, were ſtill kept on foot by the court.

On the other ſide, the behaviour of the court, in any view ſcarcely capable of a favourable conſtruction, bore to obſerving and critical eyes, ſenſible marks of ſecret rancour and diſſatisfaction with the peace *. It was ſoon known that the articles of it were reflected upon as derogatory to the honour of the king, and a diſappointment of that juſt reſentment he owed the party, which made the attempt at Monçeaux. From the prevalence of this temper, affairs were allowed to go on in a turbulent courſe; and while the uproars of the vulgar, and the maſſacres committed by them, received no check, the numerous forces of the catholics were ſeen occupying thoſe places, and inveſting the provinces, where the proteſtant chiefs had authority or intereſt. Even at Noyers, where the prince of Condé reſided, a ſoldier was diſcovered and ſeized attempting a ſurvey of the ditch and wall of the caſtle. The repreſentations that de Teligni was commiſſioned by the prince to make, with reſpect to this cloudy appearance of things, ſtruck the young king; who, as he wiſhed not to ſee the duke of Anjou at the head of the army, frequently expreſſed his ſolicitude to the queen mother, that the civil war might not be re-kindled in the kingdom. Catherine, who had laid her ſchemes in another way, and hoped to reach her end without running the precarious chance of war, could not help ſuſpecting that Charles uttered this ſentiment at the inſtigation of a prompter, capable in the preſent circumſtances of defeating her clandeſtine deſigns. De l'Hoſpital, the chancellor, was the perſon on whom, with ſome reaſon, her

who, notwithſtanding various ſuſpicious practices of of the court,

Auguſt.

* Thuan. ibid.

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ſuſpicion fell; and ſhe reſolved at once to remove ſuch a counſellor from intercourſe with her ſon, and to get rid of ſo dangerous a judge of her own deciſions. The aſperſions of the zealous cabal, of which this faithful miniſter had been generally the object, were now redoubled againſt him; and the proteſtants had ground to conſider the nickname of the *politicians*, by which he and his few adherents were now traduced at court, and the conteſt contrived in the council as the preface to his expulſion, to be a pregnant teſtimony that ſiniſter intentions were formed againſt them. But, if the ſtrain of the pope's bull, which permitted to the king the alienation of a hundred and fifty thouſand crowns of the church revenue, and aſſigned the extirpation of heretics in France as the reaſon of the grant, ſtartled the chancellor at the council table, and created a freſh alarm to the proteſtants; what the king's letters intimated to the prince of Condé, about the payment of Caſſimir's arrears amounting to three hundred thouſand crowns, may be well reckoned to have added to his perplexity and aſtoniſhment, and that of his principal adherents. It was declared to be his majeſty's pleaſure, that this groſs ſum for the diſcharge of which the chiefs had bound themſelves, ſhould be levied not in the manner they had propoſed, by a general contribution among the proteſtants, but only from the leading men, who had bore arms and appeared in the field. Subſequent to this reſtriction intended to diſtreſs and divide their party, a copy of a declaration to be ſworn by them was tranſmitted to the preſidents of the provinces. It was an oath of allegiance of a very ſingular form. Strange it may be deemed, that the queen mother, under this ruffled ſurface of things, concealed the grand and favourite deſign ſhe had formed, of ſeizing the perſons of the prince of Condé and the admiral! Perhaps, obliged to comply with the deſultory humour of the cardinal of Lorain,

continuing irreſolute and doubtful how to behave,

Lorain, and the ſullen mood of his party, ſhe could not altogether govern the reſolutions that were taken. Perhaps, ſhe who was known to practiſe the ſmoother ways of deceit, might believe that her preſent deviation from them would render her leſs ſuſpected. In this laſt view of her conduct, it may be ſaid, that the effect in a great meaſure correſponded with her intention. Amuſed with the quick tranſition of the court, from a treaty of peace to many provocations of diſcord, confounded by the ſudden appearance of unexpected danger, and perplexed with different apprehenſions and intelligence of what was intended; the chiefs remained in ſuſpence, and doubtful what meaſures of defence ought to be taken. They gave the alarm to their party to ſtand prepared for war: again they attempted to parley with the court, and imagined it became them, as on former occaſions, to repeat ecclarciſements, and multiply remonſtrances for their juſtification. This was to yield to the ſnare their enemies had prepared for them *. Already the catholic troops, were arranged in the provinces in ſuch a manner, that a retreat from the places where they reſided, was rendered a difficulty in appearance unſurmountable to the prince of Condé and the admiral. Orleans was occupied by Martinengue's ſoldiers. The bridges over the Loire were ſecured by the quarters of the duke of Monpenſier and Martiques. On the ſide of Piccardy, the marſhal de Coſſe's body of troops interpoſed; and while the young duke of Guiſe watched on the borders of the neighbouring province of Champagne, it ſeemed to be required of de Tavannes by the eaſieſt effort of his military ſtrength in Burgundy, to reach the intended prey. As if fortune had conſpired to betray the two chiefs, and deliver them up in an inſtant, the admiral had left Tanlay and come to Noyers to confer with the

run the greateſt hazard of being ſurprized, by the ſecret preparations to ſeize the prince of Condé and the admiral.

* D'Avila, liv. iv.

prince

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prince about the ſituation of their affairs. Placed on the brink of fate, ſomething more than their own ſagacity and addreſs enabled them to eſcape.

But private notice of their danger,

Besides many vague admonitions of their danger given to the prince and the admiral *, it is generally agreed by the hiſtorians, that they owed the plaineſt and moſt certain advertiſement of the plot of the court for ſeizing their perſons, to the chancellor and the marſhal de Tavannes. In the ſame ſentiment of what was becoming them, two men of moſt different characters, principles, and profeſſions, correſponded. The one the pattern of probity, the guardian of peace and of the ſtate, ſupported not indeed by the aid of party, but by the reputation of his inherent worth and matchleſs talents, beheld, contrary to all his endeavours, hideous faction again ariſe to direct the procedure of the royal councils. Caſting an indignant look upon her, while ſhe marched in maſk, with her dagger hid, to drench it afreſh in the blood of France; he thought it a pious office to his country, to turn aſide her poignard, and diſappoint her aim. The other, with the maxims of the ſoldier, and the man of honour blended together, with ſome ſtrife in his mind, whether implicit obedience, or a regard to reputation ſhould prevail, found in the form of the orders ſent to him, ſome ground for ſhunning a ſervice which appeared diſhonourable. To extricate himſelf from the diſagreeable taſk, he wrote, in a diſpatch he ſent to an acquaintance, "The ſtag is in the toils, and the chace is prepared for him." The courier who bore it, paſſing cloſe by Noyers, was ſeized, as Tavannes expected would happen. But the danger was not averted by this warning. In the midſt of ſurrounding troops,

being given them by the chancellor and the marſhal de Tavannes,

* Addit. aux Caſtel. liv. vii. chap. 1.

how

how to gain a place of ſafety was the difficult point that remained to be accompliſhed. From a tender regard for the protection of their wives and children, the expedition of the chiefs was retarded. The princeſs of Condé big with child, and followed with her cradled infants; and the ſpouſes of the admiral and d'Andelot, attended by their train of children, became an inſeparable part of the convoy. Encompaſſed by a body of a hundred and fifty horſe, the whole conſtituents of the two families, took their courſe toward the Loire. By the accident of an uncommon drought in ſummer, it was found fordable near Sancerre. They had ſcarcely paſſed it, and endeavoured to ſecure their rear by poſting a party commanded by Bois on the banks of the river, when Martinengues came up, and attacked this feeble ſquadron, and obliged them to fly into the fort of Boni, where they ſoon ſurrendered. A ſudden ſwell of the river, looked upon as providential by thoſe who felt the advantage of it, concurred to prevent all immediate purſuit. Having ſtretched with their utmoſt ſpeed for ſome time, the prince and the admiral found their adherents flock to them in great numbers, the nearer that they drew to Xaintonge. Monluc, Guitiniere, and other catholic chiefs, were obliged to retire before them, when they approached Rochelle, their place of ſecurity. They entered the city on the nineteenth of September with a croud of other proteſtant chiefs, amidſt the acclamations of the townſmen and populace, who ſaw with emotions of joy, a prince of the blood, the head of a party which they favoured, eſcaped with his family from the hands of his enemies, and come to entruſt himſelf and his children to their protection.

they eſcape with the utmoſt peril, and get to Rochelle.

Sept. 19th.

THE late hoſtilities ſuddenly begun and haſtily ſuppreſſed, ſeemed to prepare the fuel and accelerate the flame of the war, which

now

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now enſued. Deriving its origin from notorious breach of faith on the part of the court, and attended with the circumſtance of the dangerous eſcape of the prince of Condé; it was introduced by no preliminary conferences or propoſals of peace. The proteſtant chieftains every where expecting no other ſignal of war, but that of the prince's retreat to Rochelle, haſtened their levies; and animated with ſenſible indignation at the perfidious blow aimed againſt them, were diſpoſed to exert the utmoſt efforts of their ſtrength and courage in the renewal of the conflict with their adverſaries. By the ſpeedy arrival of the queen of Navarre with the young prince, Henry her ſon, at Rochelle, the foundation of a firmer aſſociation with the blood royal ſeemed to be laid; and the hopes of the party were elevated with the ſight of a conſiderable number of military bands formed into three regiments of foot, and eight troops of light cavalry, which attended their appearance *. Thoſe troops, beſides ſome militia the queen had raiſed in Bern, conſiſted of the levies made by Piles and Breguemaut, and amounted to more than four thouſand men. The early repair of the count de Rochefoucault, of Soubiſe, St. Cire, and various other proteſtant leaders, though followed only by incomplete corps, ſo far increaſed the rendezvous at Rochelle, that a little army was ſoon formed; and the prince of Condé began to extend his quarters by the ſeizure of Cognac, and poſſeſſing himſelf of ſeveral towns and poſts in the confines of Poictou. Among the other provinces in which the prince's adherents collected their militia, thoſe of Normandy and Britany, where the count de Montgomery and d'Andelot had power and intereſt, had received the moſt early intelligence of the danger that threatened their party; and by the re-

Excited by the danger of their chiefs,

the proteſtants haſten their ſuccours from the provinces;

* D'Aubigne, liv. v. chap. 2.

markable

markable diligence of thoſe two chiefs, were ſooneſt prepared to ſend forth their combatants. A rendezvous had been appointed at Beaufort in Anjou, whether ſeveral others of the confederate lords were directed to conduct their levies from Maine, and the counties upon the north of the Loire. To effectuate the ſafe paſſage of this river was a point of much conſequence, and of no leſs difficulty. The bridges and towns upon it were in the poſſeſſion of the catholics; and the fords which were rare, changed continually by the irregular rapidity of the current, and the commigration of the beds of ſand. The duke of Montpenſier had poſted himſelf at Saumur, and the viſcount Martigues was on his march to join him with ſome troops from Britanny to oppoſe the progreſs of the proteſtants. D'Andelot, who underſtood that the prince and the admiral had agreed to draw together all the forces of their party to one quarter of the kingdom, had in conſequence of this reſolution, determined to attempt the paſſage of the Loire, and penetrate into Xaintonge. Having left the vidame of Chartres with ſome troops on the other ſide of the Loire behind him, he advanced towards St. Mathurin on the banks of the river, and after diſpoſing his troops into proper ſtations, began to explore, before Saumur and Angers, the fords that were practicable. On this occaſion there happened one of thoſe encounters in which accident appears ſometimes to mock the adepts in the military art, raſhneſs to vie in ſucceſs with prudence, and the ſenſe of extreme danger to prompt the ſpirit of valour to chuſe the moſt perillous enterprize. Martigues, inferior in forces, fell unawares into the quarters of the enemy. He was amazed, in beating a party of them, to find that D'Andelot and the main body were there. Truſting equally to fortune, and to the valour of his troops, he puſhed on to the quarters of St. Mathurin, and by the ſurprize of

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and d'Andelot, with the levies from Normandy,

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the firſt attack, threw them into confuſion, which obliged D'Andelot, who was in perſonal danger, and believed that he had to combat the duke of Montpenſier's forces, to retreat and collect his ſcattered troops. Martigues, ſenſible that he would be ſoon overpowered, diſcontinued the action; but inſtead of a retreat, which ſafety perſwaded, and of which ſome ſhew was made by him, he wheeled upon another lodgement of the enemy cloſer upon the river; and though la Noue commanded, he fought his way through it, took a ſtandard, and with the loſs of a part of his rear only, brought his troops to Saumur. The report of this action was carried to the court, and occaſioned much triumph. It ſhewed indeed what might be done on rare occaſions, when old troops are matched with raw ſoldiers, and chance performs as much as fortitude. But the fame of the atchievement was tarniſhed, and the fruit expected from the junction of the troops of Martigues to thoſe of Monpenſier, proved a diſappointment. D'Andelot having diſcovered a ford, had the glory, almoſt in the view of the catholic chiefs, of conducting his whole troops without loſs or diſturbance over the Loire.

attempts the paſſage of the Loire;

and after a dangerous rencounter with Martigues, effectuates it.

De l'Hoſpital reſigns the ſeals of his office, and retires;

De l'Hoſpital's reſignation of the ſeals, and his retreat from the court, ſhewed the temper of the party that ruled it. Having in oppoſition to the cabal of the violent and war-thirſty, in vain breathed forth in council his ſighs of patriotiſm, and the acute ſenſations he had for the ſufferings of France, a third time embroiled in domeſtic fury; he wiſely underſtood the averted looks of the king, and of the court favourites, to be a requiſition to him to evacuate his place and function *. At the age of ſixty-ſeven,

* Brantome Teſtament de l'Hoſpital. Tom. ii.

he

he betook himſelf to a deſireable receſs with his family, undiſturbed by no vexatious remembrance of his paſt uſage, nor anxious concern about his future condition; having forgot, as he expreſſed it in his teſtament "thoſe with whom he had lived at court, and being forgotten by them." When in the terror at St. Bartholomew, his ſervants told him the houſe was beſet by an armed party, and aſked his orders to ſtand on their defence, and ſhut the gates; "by no means," ſaid he" "but if the leſſer gate be not patent enough for them, let the great one be thrown open." The queen mother and the court now finding the war they had provoked ruſhing upon them with unuſual velocity, and being at a loſs to feign any pretext for interpoſing a conference, an eſſay was made by a ſhew of moderation, to ſlacken the ardor of the proteſtants to follow the prince of Condé's ſtandard. A declaration was publiſhed, which gave aſſurance that the king would protect them as well as his other ſubjects, and hear their complaints, provided they lived peaceably at home. The ſame ſtyle we have obſerved, had been uſed by the court on like occaſions; but to gratify the zealous catholics, it had been generally changed †. At preſent there followed immediately a remarkable contradiction to it, by two rigid edicts. In one of them which was declared to be perpetual, the religion of the proteſtants was capitally proſcribed, and all their miniſters under penalty of death and confiſcation were required to quit the kingdom in fifteen days. In another, all who profeſſed any other religion but the catholic, were deprived of their rank, charge and offices in the kingdom. To behold this overflow of catholic zeal, was not more grateful to Pius V. than it

and the court, after a faint ſhew of moderation,

October 1.

† Thuan. lib. xlii. p. 883.

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publiſhes two rig d edicts;

ſeemed to be to the parliament of Paris, and the other ſupreme courts. The welcome edicts were recited and publiſhed with joy, and a voluntary ratification of them by a new invented oath, to be taken by every civil magiſtrate and officer, was ſubjoined. The pernicious effects of this enthuſiaſm were not only felt in the civil war. From the precedent now introduced, the prejudice in favour of thoſe arbitrary maxims grew and continued to peſter the ſtate. Though offices were afterwards held by proteſtants in peaceable times; it required, as de Thou obſerves, more than thirty years to paſs, with frequent contention, before the cuſtomary oath of the magiſtrates, *that they would live* and *die in the true apoſtolic and Roman faith*, dropped into deſuetude. So inveterate are popular attachments where religion is concerned; and ſuch laſting diſorders may councils of ſtate and ſenates create to kingdoms, when they cheriſh thoſe by the ſanction of their authority. At the preſent conjuncture, the new edicts, the new war, and the hopes conceived of the young general the duke of Anjou, afforded the utmoſt ſatisfaction to the bulk of the catholics; who ſeemed to themſelves to undertake, under happier auſpices, the wiſhed for reduction of the heretical party. The queen mother, amidſt the applauſes that were given to the bloom of the princely virtues of her ſon, began to diſmiſs her early fears. His perſon more elegantly formed, his deportment more ſedate, and his temper better poiſed than the king's, with a genius leſs quick, but more improvable, engaging more by his courteous addreſs and manners than from familiarity; with a conſtitution ſound and vigorous, rather than apparently robuſt; Henry duke of Anjou appeared, with the advantages of time and experience, capable of gathering thoſe laurels in the civil war, with which Catherine longed to ſee him adorned.

which long afterwards propagated civil diſcord.

The duke of Anjou, hopeful in his character,

takes the command of the army.

adorned. He was now employed in preparing the army to march into Xaintonge, where that of the proteſtants, which after the acceſſion of Henry of Navarre to it, was called the army of the princes, had conſiderably increaſed in number and ſtrength.

CHAP. III.

The provincial forces of the proteſtants collected into one quarter—Approach of the main armies to each other—Remarkable ſkirmiſh of Jazeneuil—Campaign continued through winter—General battle of Tarnac—The prince of Condé killed—Circumſtances of his death, and character—The prince of Bern, and the young Condé preſented to the proteſtant troops by the queen of Navarre.

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THE reſolution formed by the prince of Condé and his adherent chiefs, to collect their ſcattered forces, and to direct towards one quarter of France the ſtorm of war, was a meaſure hitherto, on account of various difficulties, unattempted. From the general alacrity of the proteſtant leaders to bring the ſpeedieſt relief to their chief, expoſed to ſudden peril, and from the time the court ſpent in adjuſting their plan of hoſtilities, it now became practicable. The advantageous effect of this new introduction of the war was immediately apparent. In the courſe of D'Andelot's march to join the princes, Parthenay was ſeized by him. Niort, already beſieged by his brother the admiral, ſurrendered, and St. Maixan, and Fontenay taken by capitulation, added to their conqueſts *. The ſurprize and reduction of ſeveral other places gave them, with exception of the capital and Luſignan, the entire dominion of Poictou. On the ſame plan of extending and fortifying their quarters in the country adjacent to Rochelle, the main body of the army was led by another rout to the Angumois; the capital of which, conſiderably fortified and defended by a garriſon, was reduced after a ſhort ſiege. Blas, a ſtrong fort on the Gar-

The new ſcheme of the proteſtants, to collect their forces into one quarter,

* D'Aubigne, liv. v. chap. 7. Thuan. ibid. p. 884.

ronne,

ronne, and St. Jean d'Angely, likewiſe yielded to them. The duke of Monpenſier, who was reinforced by large detachments under Matignon, and the count de Briſſac, ſcarce made any motion to interrupt their progreſs, till they were engaged in beſieging Pons, where the catholic ſoldiers, who were beat from ſeveral other towns, had rallied. An exceſs of ferocity, the effect of the violent reſentment of the treacherous infringement of the late peace, mixed in thoſe early enterprizes. Surrenders at diſcretion, after reſiſtance, were marked on ſome occaſions with havock and bloodſhed; and the inferior officers were, with difficulty, compelled by their chiefs to obſerve the conditions of capitulation. In an affair which concerned not only military diſcipline, but the preſervation of the firſt principles of humanity, in the midſt of the civil war, it is obſerved that the admiral Coligni diſtinguiſhed himſelf by that indignation and juſt ſeverity againſt the offenders, which was ſuited to the traits of his character. On † this head an incident at the taking of Angouleme is narrated. Pluviaut, one of the chieftains, had, contrary to the terms of ſurrender, ſeized ſome horſes belonging to the catholic officers. The admiral, after commanding them to be delivered up, being provoked to paſſion by Pluviaut's excuſing himſelf, ſtruck him with his baton on the ſpot, and was ſcarcely prevented by the prince of Condé, from carrying his reſentment a greater length. Pluviaut, who was brave, being touched on the ſuffering of his honour, by ſome who wanted to prompt him to vengeance, made this reply; "I bear every thing from my acknowledged ſuperiors; but nothing from my adverſaries. By my behaviour I teach my followers to underſtand what they owe to me." Pluviaut it is ſaid was more extoll-

is attended with ſucceſs.

† Thuan. ibid. d'Aubigne, ibid.

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ed for this anſwer, than for all his feats of bravery. To correſpond with the ſcheme adopted in the chief council of war by forming ſtanding battalions, and providing the ſoldiers with neceſſaries for a diſtant and hazardous march to join the prince of Condé, required extraordinary efforts of labour and conſtancy from the warriors in the different provinces. With all the arguments for it, it is ſurprizing to find that the ſolicitation which inferred the forſaking of their homes and eſtates, and riſquing the captivity of their wives and children was to ſuch a degree complied with. The levies which were made on this footing from Dauphiny, Provence, and Languedoc, and compoſed what was called the army of the *provencials*, are very remarkable on account of their number, and the expedition with which they were prepared †. Enrolled and muſtered by the indefatigable induſtry of the warlike chieftains de Montbrun, de Mouvans, Pierre Gourdes, and commanded in chief by d'Acier, count de Cruſſol, they are reckoned to have amounted with the followers of the camp to more than twenty-three thouſand men. D'Acier's company alone conſiſted of two hundred gentlemen. His enſign was of green taffeta with a hydra painted on it. The hats of cardinals, the mitres of biſhops, and the cowls of monks, formed the head dreſſes. A Hercules appeared demoliſhing them with his club; and the inſcription, *Que caſſo crudeles*, contained an anagram of the chief commander's name. The paſſage of the Rhone was a difficulty which the principal diviſion of this army had to ſurmount. De Gordes the king's lieutenant in Dauphiny, had taken all meaſures poſſible, by guards and armed veſſels, to obſtruct it. Their numbers and induſtry prevailed. Mouvans who brought up the laſt detachments, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by encountering a great

Among the reſt of the levies, the number and order of thoſe of Provence, are moſt remarkable.

† D'Aubigne, ibid. Addit. aux Caſtelnau, liv. vii.

part

part of de Gordes forces, and while he maintained ſkirmiſhes with them every day, he reared a large fort on the bank of the river, and defended it, until his troops, gradually, in one boat, were carried to the other ſide. His preſumption and diſdain of d'Acier's orders ſoon after occaſioned a fatal blow to be given him and the party he commanded.

October 30.

THE body of troops aſſembled under the duke de Monpenſier, finding no employment or enterpriſe ſuited to the pitch of their ſtrength, kept on the defenſive at Chattelrault in Poictou; when the commanders were informed of the arrival of the provincials in the neighbouring county of Perigord. What was at firſt reported of thoſe troops being a tumultuary croud, and not ſo conſiderable as they were, either in number or diſcipline, induced Monpenſier to throw himſelf in their way. Approaching nearer to them, though he knew their numbers, he found information verify what he expected, that ſeveral of the detachments in which they marched did not always lodge in ſuch contiguity, as to be capable of ſuccouring each other. It was even underſtood that Mouvans, with his ſeparate body, appeared to chuſe his own rout, and often outmarched d'Acier's main battle, or deviated from the order he preſcribed. At this time Mouvans had made one of thoſe capricious digreſſions, and had taken up his quarters at Menſignac with about four thouſand foot, unfurniſhed with pikes and unſupported by cavalry. An attack was immediately concerted, part of which was directed againſt d'Acier to embarraſs and amuſe him, while another diviſion was ordered to fall on Mouvans. D'Acier was no ſooner charged, than dreading the danger to which Mouvans might be expoſed, he ſent a courier to advertiſe him to beware of the enemy, and keep cloſe in his quarters. Perſuaded with diffi-

But, by the caprice and inattention of ſome of their commanders,

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culty by his friend Pierregourdes to obey this order, the latter ſuſtained and eaſily repulſed the count de Briſſac's aſſault on Menſignac, with twelve hundred horſe. But this ſpirited officer deviſed a ſtratagem. He made ſhew of retreating to Perigueaux. When Mouvans ſaw the plain over which he meant to paſs, clear of the enemy, no argument or intreaty could prevail with him to ſuſpend his purpoſe of puſhing forward toward Riberac, the place of rendezvous; which he inſiſted could be done with all ſafety, by gaining a wood that lay near. Upon his advancing into the plain, the count de Briſſac came from his ambuſh. A brave reſiſtance was at firſt made; but the combat, of foot alone, and new raiſed ſoldiers, againſt the diſciplined troops of horſe, proved unequal. A thouſand of Mouvan's troops were killed on the field; and he, whoſe obſtinacy wrought their deſtruction, juſtly ſhared their fate. Pierregourdes alſo accompanied his friend's fall, though he ſtrove to prevent the diſgrace of it. Above a thouſand more of the diſperſed rout, were reckoned to have been deſtroyed by the peaſants; and the remainder, who could eſcape, joined d'Acier. Elated with this ſucceſs, Monpenſier thought of converting his faint attack into a general action with this commander. But he ſoon dropt this intention, and found it convenient to regain his former poſt. D'Acier joined the prince of Condé at Aubeterre; and the duke withdrew to Chattebrault.

a large body of them is expoſed to the enemy,

and defeated.

Nov. 1. THE armies on both ſides were now, in the beginning of winter, compleatly aſſembled. That of the duke of Anjou, which drawing together near Poictiers, had been augmented by the bands of the nobility, the whole brigades of the Swiſs, and a great train of artillery, conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot, and about four thouſand horſe. Beſides the troops in garriſons, the princes muſ-

The oppoſite armies being near equally numerous,

tered in the field to the number of eighteen thouſand infantry, and three thouſand cavalry. Never before did the combating parties oppoſe each other with ſuch array for battle, and appear ſo nearly matched. Both alike eager for coming to action, diſregarded the reſtraint of the ſeaſon. The duke of Anjou, after beholding the enemy extend their conqueſts over three provinces, aſpired to reduce their power ſo ſuddenly grown up, by ſome ſignal blow. The adverſe chiefs prompted by their uſual fortitude, and the deſire of haſtening to a deciſion, with troops not eaſily retained for want of regular pay in tedious ſervice, not only accepted the defiance of their foes; but more readily put in motion, advanced towards the quarters occupied by them. Contiguous to Laſignan, the advanced-guards of both drew near to each other; and by a ſingular accident, the camp-maſters on either ſide having pitched on the ſame ground, met one another in the front at Pamprau, to arrange the quarters of the ſeveral armies. A conteſt aroſe here for honour of maintaining the ground, more than for advantage, or from neceſſity. The catholic cavaliers who appeared firſt at this ſtation, diſdained to yield it; and the proteſtant martinets would not recede from the controverſy *. Their principals on both ſides entering with eagerneſs into the diſpute; Martigues was ſoon diſpatched to ſupport his argument with a body of eight hundred horſe from the van; and the two Colignis marched up with ſpeed, attended by ſome more than half that number. From forwardneſs, a party ſent by the admiral to reconnoitre the enemy, immediately engaged with them. Ignorant of each other's ſtrength, the chiefs declined a general charge; and yet neither would retire. The admiral, firſt apprehending the riſque he run of being aſſaulted by the whole van, ranged his troops on the brow of a hill in order of battle.

and eager for action,

Nov. 29th.

come to a rencounter near Luſignan;

* D'Aubigne, ibid. chap. 6.

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battle. Their appearance on the eminence, while a party of them ſkirmiſhed below on the plain, deceived Martigues in his opinion of their numbers. He again inferred that the bulk of the enemy's army, concealed by the hill, was advancing to environ him. While the admiral dreaded his onſet, and had ſent to the prince of Condé for a reinforcement, Martigues, ſpinning out the ſkirmiſhes till the evening, withdrew into the ſkirts of a wood, kindled large fires, hung lighted matches on the trees, made all his trumpets ſound, and the Swiſs march be beat by the French drums, and under the cover of thoſe ſtratagems, made his retreat about midnight towards the duke of Anjou's quarters. This rencounter was the prelude, and gave occaſion to what is called the famous ſkirmiſh of Jazeneuil. But the military conduct diſplayed in it, can only be ſaid to have repaired or leſſened the conſequence of the overſight and error, into which the commanders on both ſides appear to have previouſly fallen *. The prince of Condé's diſappointment at Martigues' eſcape, which he thought, by marching up ſpeedily, to have prevented, determined him next day to attempt an aſſault on the enemy's vanguard lodged at Sanſay, a league from Jazeneuil. A thick ſtorm ariſing which darkened the ſky, his van and main battle ſeparated on the road; the one led by Coligni, arriving according to the courſe intended, at the former of theſe places; and the other conducted by himſelf, at the latter. The prince perceived his dangerous miſtake, but thought it both improper and unſafe to retire in the front of the duke of Anjou's army. While he made the beſt diſpoſitions he could, to avoid a diſcovery of the abſence of his vanguard, various couriers were diſpatched to find, and inform Coligni of his ſituation. In the addreſs and ſkill

which is followed by the famous ſkirmiſh of Jazeneuil;

* D'Avila, liv. iv.

exerted

exerted by him, the able general was conſpicuous; and he had the honour of extricating himſelf without affront or loſs, by his own ingenious conduct. The great advantages the ground afforded were taken. By means of the ditches and banks, which fenced the vineyards, he in a manner entrenched his infantry; whoſe fire flanked the catholic troops, which advanced to the encounter. While the duke of Anjou plyed all his artillery to diſcomfit the charge of the light horſe, and filled the plain with clouds of ſmoke, the prince of Condé at a convenient paſs betwixt two riſing grounds, where a conſiderable body of his troops were left, had drawn a foſſee acroſs the high-way, behind which the reſt gradually retired, from the hedge fights and ſkirmiſhes in the plain. By help of four field pieces, he ſoon rendered it a terrible poſt, againſt all the efforts made by the enemy. But the ill choſen camp of the catholics contributed to the ſucceſs of this enterprize. Their army, ſtraitned in its poſition, was incapable of acting; and, as the generals afterwards agreed, at Jazeneuil lay expoſed to a total defeat. When the admiral, on the other hand, heard the continual volleys of the cannon, he concluded whether the prince had wandered, and quitting a certain victory he would have obtained over the advanced guard at Saunſac, which was the original object, he made all haſte to come to his relief; but arrived after the danger was paſt. From thoſe ſkirmiſhes, in which the inconſiderable loſs on both ſides was nearly equal, the armies withdrew at ſome diſtance. The duke of Anjou, to gain more commodious quarters, moved firſt to Poictiers; and the prince of Condé, with a view of opening a communication with the provinces on the north of the Loire, directed his march to the town of Mirabeau.

where the prince of Condé ſhews eminent ſkill and conduct.

Again

BOOK V. 1568. Dec. 20th.

AGAIN the armies were put in motion, and approached one another. To divert the prince of Condé from his ſcheme of beſieging Saumur, and by ſeizing that poſt on the Loire, of drawing reinforcements from the northern parts, the duke of Anjou finding his antagoniſts had advanced beyond Mirebeau, pitched his camp before Loudun, a place of conſiderable importance to the proteſtants; in which d'Acier commanded. This produced the deſired effect *. Here the armies were ranged, with little ſhelter, on either ſide of the town. After their late fatigues, in the midſt of the ſeverities of the ſeaſon, a ſcene of ſkirmiſhes like the former was repeated. On the hard frozen and icy ground, the men and horſe often falling by whole files, received more bruiſes than wounds in thoſe rencounters; till vanquiſhed by the extremity of the cold, the adverſe chiefs tacitly agreed, to ſpare their ſoldiers this grievous combat with the inclemency of the elements. But the retreat of the armies did not ſave them from feeling, by the diſtempers that made havock of the ſoldiers, the effects of the exceſſive hardſhips they had already endured. In their cantonments on different ſides of the river Vienne, the loſs of both reckoned together amounted, within almoſt the ſpace of a month, to more than eight thouſand men. None of their pitched battles had yet coſt them ſo many lives †; and it is de Thou's remark, that in the courſe of ſix months of the preſent hoſtilities, hardly five hundred were killed in the field. While the action of the armies was thus ſuſpended, the commanders did not remit their diligence in preparing for a new campaign. The proteſtants, embarraſſed by the continuation of the war, left no means untried, that could enable them to ſupport the load of it. Having by hard experience learned to

After withdrawing, the armies again face each other;

and perſiſt in the campaign, till they ſuffer by the extreme cold.

* D'Avila, ibid. D'Aubigne, ibid. † Thuan. lib. xlii. p. 878.

compute

compute the groſs ſum of military wants, their chiefs laboured both at home and abroad to find reſources for them. Placed now in a ſituation ſomewhat different from their former attitude, and obliged, without diſperſing through the provinces, to keep their followers in readineſs for preſent ſervice, and even to maintain the whole united body of their forces within narrow limits, which the ſcience of war preſcribed; they were ſenſible that it behoved them to be accommodated with ſome funds of ſpecie, more ready and certain than thoſe on which they had hitherto precariouſly ſubſiſted. Inſtead of ranſacking the already rifled furniture of the churches, they deviſed the * expoſing to public ſale the richeſt eccleſiaſtical lands and revenues. As they were conſidered to be, at leaſt, temporary maſters of the provinces where their army lay, and the queen of Navarre, together with the principal chiefs, offered ſecurity upon their eſtates, for bargains that might be made; people were found who took their hazard of ſuch purchaſes. Beſides large ſums ſaid to have been gained by thoſe tranſactions, the Rochellers collected a ſubſidy of ſixty thouſand crowns for the payment of the troops. But their aſſiſtance in the war was far more conſiderable than this pecuniary levy. By the convenience of their harbour and ſhipping, the prince of Condé was enabled to fit out nine armed veſſels, commanded by de la Tour, a younger brother of the family of Chateleer Portaut. The ports of Britany and Normandy were beſet by him, and captures made, not only of all ſhips belonging to catholic traders, that put to ſea from them; but alſo of thoſe of the Flemiſh merchants who were ſubjects of the king of Spain.

To ſupport their united troops, ſeveral expedients are uſed by the proteſtants;

* D'Avila, ibid. Caſtelnau, liv. vii. chap. 7.

EVER

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Ever ſince the arrival of the duke of Alva in the Netherlands, the French proteſtants, juſtly conſidering him to be the moſt avowed and avengeful ſcourge to all who profeſſed their religion, had taken a particular concern in the war which the prince of Orange endeavoured to ſtir up againſt him. When the peace of Chartres was made, ſeveral of the prince of Condé's ſoldiers, both French and foreigners, had repaired to his ſtandard; and Genlis having gone with a body of retainers to his camp, had endeavoured to perſuade him, when hindred from penetrating into Holland, to throw himſelf with his troops into France, where the war was already broke out. What was now done by the prince of Condé, urged by neceſſity, and in the time of actual war, to manifeſt the conſtant enmity of his party to the duke of Alva's government of the Low Countries, may be conſidered as one of thoſe unhappy and unjuſtifiable injuries committed on blameleſs ſubjects, where the merited blow is due, and cannot be inflicted on the princes and ſtates to which they belong. But the procedure, however cenſurable, paſſed with ſeveral proteſtant princes, and thoſe who from political reaſons were diſguſted with the duke of Alva, for only a rude declaration of war againſt one, who, to enthral and deſtroy his maſter's ſubjects, waged it in a ſhocking manner. By a conduct ſomewhat ſimilar, the queen of England ſhewed how ſhe was touched with the ſcene, commenced in the Netherlands. Her metropolis was the refuge of the exiles and outlaws from thence, and the protection ſhe afforded to all perſecuted for religion was open and declared. Eaſily prevailed upon by the arguments ſuggeſted to her by the cardinal of Chatillon, who, in the criſis of the danger to which the chiefs of his party were expoſed, had narrowly eſcaped to England; ſhe even admitted ſome prizes taken by de la Tour to be condemned in her ports; and on account of

who hold a communication with the prince of Orange;

of the ſeizures and detention of ſome Spaniſh *zebecks*, which had a large ſum of money on board, entered into ſuch a conteſt with the duke of Alva, that repriſals were made by him on the Engliſh, and things were carried to ſuch an extremity, that all commerce between England and the Low Countries, remained for a long time ſuſpended. Her * behaviour to the French court was even apparently more unamicable than in the former eruptions of civil war. She made a new demand of Calais; the inhabitants of which were ſummoned by her admiral, Winter, to put themſelves again under the dominion of her crown. To Rochelle ſhe ſent by way of loan, for the uſe of the prince of Condé and his army, a hundred thouſand angels of gold coin, and ſix pieces of artillery, well fitted up, and furniſhed with ſtore of ammunition; a ſupply no leſs precious than the money, to a party that had always laboured under the deficiency of it. Both parties in the war having again taken the uſual courſe of calling the mercenary auxiliaries of Germany to their aid, found the ſeveral princes, to whom they applied, readily inclined to renew their former ſtipulations, and to ſend forth their ſuperfluous people and ſoldiers of fortune on each ſide, to ſhare in the harveſt of the civil broils of France. The application made to the emperor in the French king's name, by Blandi-Fumeé, for hindering the effect of the prince of Condé's contracts for German troops, proved altogether inſignificant. The anſwer returned to it was rather a cenſure of the conduct of the French miniſtry, as inſtigators of the preſent war, and an admonition to the king to embrace more wiſe and ſalutary counſels. In this manner did the third civil war ſoon appear to take a ſtronger root in France, and to find a ſupport, both within and without

and, notwithſtanding of the late agreement, are aſſiſted by the queen of England;

and, equally with catholics, provided with German levies.

* D'Aubigne, liv. v. chap. 10.

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the kingdom, on the weaker ſide, that rendered it in proſpect more formidable than the two which preceded it. Beholding the dangerous combuſtion ſhe had raiſed, the queen mother began to tremble for the conſequences that might enſue; and notwithſtanding the violent tone of the edicts lately iſſued by the court, which ſeemed an abjuration of any future treaty with the proteſtants, ſhe made uſe of Berenger Portal, a financier, who had been impriſoned at Paris for calviniſm, to perſuade the prince of Condé to enter into ſome terms of agreement. But the recent memory of her perfidious deſigns, and the mean and ſuſpicious character of the negotiator now employed, were ſufficient to diſturb and annihilate the preſent efficacy of overtures of this kind from the court.

January.

By the main armies ſtill keeping their rendezvous,

From the aſſemblage of the grand armies, and their cantonments in winter quarters, where they ſtill kept their rendezvous, and watched the motions of each other; the fuel of the petty combats and enterprizes in the other provinces of the kingdom, was in a great meaſure diminiſhed and ſubtracted. The ſchemes of the inferior chieftains were few, and from the weakneſs of their forces, of ſtill leſs conſequence than on former occaſions. To recount thoſe which happened, would be only tracing out a meaner ſketch of a ſcene, that has been once and again deſcribed. It will be ſufficient only to mention two ſieges, which the hiſtorians have particularized as moſt remarkable: that of Sancerre by a catholic party, under Martinengues, and that of the abbey of St. Michael, by a body of proteſtant ſoldiers. In the firſt, a place of refuge and habitation for the ſtancheſt calviniſts, who choſe to be ſequeſtered from catholic ſociety; ſcarce three hundred of them, ill provided with arms or ammunition, and having only Joanneau, an advocate, for their captain, defended themſelves for near ſix weeks, againſt a

the provincial combats are leſs frequent;

body

body of three thouſand foot, and a troop of horſe, under the command of Martinengues, and other notable warriors, who battered the walls with eight pieces of cannon. Five hundred of the catholics were killed; and after various aſſaults in breach, the ſiege was raiſed. In the abbey*, which was a fort of very antique ſtructure, Chateaupers, a monk, in abſence of the prior, took upon him the defence of the ſacred walls; and with the aſſiſtance of his fraternity, and two or three hundred catholic refugees, who had depoſited their beſt effects in the monaſtery, ſtrove to rival the memorable obſtinacy of the calviniſts of Sancerre. The marſhy ground, impaſſable to cannon, gave him an advantage in reſiſting the attacks of a detachment of proteſtants equal to the enterprize. When, after ſeveral bloody repulſes given him, ſome culverins, tranſported by the ſea coaſt, were brought to bear on the towers, and all further defence was vain; a confidence on the aid of St. Michael, founded on a traditional faith, ſtill animated the courageous votaries to withſtand the laſt ſummons to ſurrender, or expect the aſſault without mercy. A barbarous carnage enſued, without regard to age or ſex, and the cells were floated with blood. Thoſe inſtances of deſperate reſiſtance were not ſingular. The cruelties often exerciſed, and which grew more exceſſive by the renewal of war, rendered the defences to extremity frequent, and thoſe again prompted the inhumanities. It is needleſs to ſtate, with ſome hiſtorians, the alternate charges of the parties againſt each other for the prior breaches of capitulations. If we reflect on the various examples of relentleſs rage and fury, which, even in the times of peace, broke forth between them; it cannot be ſurpriſing to find thoſe horrors aggravated in the midſt of hoſtilities. How far

but the ſame cruelties are exerciſed in them,

* Thuan. lib. xlii. p. 892.

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the catholics, beſides the eſtimate of their innate abhorrence of heretics, were inſtigated by the monitories of the clergy, and the edicts and decrees of the court and the parliament, to ſtifle all ſentiments of humanity, and to ſurpaſs the proteſtants in licentious bloodſhed, in ample proportion to their ſuperior numbers and ſtrength, we may be enabled to judge, from the courſe of the narrative already deduced; in which the ſum of their outrages falls ſhort of what is recorded by the generality of their hiſtorians.

with little difference on either ſide.

BUT while the war languiſhed in moſt of the provinces, and was perceptible chiefly by ſome attempts made by the proteſtants on Diepe, Havre, and a few other places, by which their inability, in the preſent ſcheme of the war, for ſuch enterprizes appeared; the two armies began to quicken their preparations for opening the campaign. From a diſparity in the number and condition of their troops, the purpoſes of the commanders were different. Having received the firſt compliments of German auxiliaries, conſiſting of two thouſand Rheiters, led by the Rhingrave and Baſſiompiere, and reinforced by a conſiderable body of troops from Provence under Sommerive, now, after his father's death, called the count de Tende; the duke of Anjou wiſhed to draw the enemy to an engagement. On the contrary, while the duke of Deux Pons was only in the beginning of his march from Germany, and the aſſociates, called the viſcounts, could not be prevailed on by the other proteſtant chiefs to quit their cantonments in Quercy, and about Montauban, where, for the ſecurity of their own eſtates, they kept a ſeparate body of ſix thouſand foot, beſides ſeveral troops of horſe; it was the prince of Condé's object to gain time, and decline a general action. Upon thoſe diſtinct plans, the oppoſite chiefs proceeded to regulate and conduct the preſent motions of their armies.

From their different ſituations, a general engagement is deſired by the duke of Anjou,

The

The prince of Condé, desirous to draw near the viscounts, and having joined them, to march toward the Loire, in order to facilitate the accession of the Germans, no sooner heard that the catholic army had moved from the Limouzin, and advanced towards Xaintonge, to throw themselves in his way, than he determined to keep close by the river Charente; the bridges and fords of which being occupied by his garrisons and flying parties, would enable him to shun the encounter and interruption of the enemy. To favour this scheme of his march, the boats were every where removed or sunk; and orders given, upon the approach of the enemy, to beat down the bridges when the posts were untenible. So far * those resolutions were executed, that a party of light troops, detached by the duke of Anjou to surprize the town of Jarnac upon the river, was immediately dislodged, and a stronger party under Bruquemaut appointed to the custody of it. Upon the failure of this project, the duke of Anjou, taking a wider circuit with his army, passed the Charente, where it was fordable above Angueleme. His approach on this side, which it is likely was not expected by the prince, gave them, however, rather less concern. Before he could annoy their march, he had not only the same obstructions from the river, but his advancement into Xaintonge, a country already wasted, and hostile, and where he was farther removed from supplies, appeared to be attended with greater disadvantages. The seizure of some places on his march, and even the reduction of Chateau-Neuf, which was held by a Scottish captain, with a small garrison, contributed little or nothing to the attainment of his purpose. The bridge was demolished, and the re-construction of it, and an attempt to pass the Charente in the sight and face of the

and shunned by the prince of Condé;

* Thuan. xliii. p. 894.

enemy's

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enemy's army, was a ſcheme which the greateſt temerity could hardly ſuggeſt. But being found the only project for coming up with the enemy, before they gained a day's march; the trial of it was agreed to in the council of war, and the care of refitting the bridge, and of throwing another of boats, was committed to de Biron, an officer well qualified for the contrivance and execution. By the exertion of ſome military addreſs and induſtry on the one ſide, and a defect of attention on the other, ſo groſs indeed as can hardly be accounted for; the hazardous undertaking of the paſſage of the river ſucceeded. The battle of Jarnac was the immediate reſult of it; an event, which, as it was unwiſhed for by the proteſtant chiefs, proved by one fatal circumſtance that attended it, of more deplorable and hurtful conſequence to their party, than the loſs of the field, and the defeat they ſuffered.

but, through inadvertency, the latter is obliged to engage

in the battle of Jarnac;

As the princes and chiefs of the proteſtant army, could not expect to interpoſe a river always between them and the enemy's forces; nor, in the courſe of their projected march, confide altogether in ſhunning an encounter with them; it was not the paſſage of the Charente by the duke of Anjou, nor even a combat with him on preparation for it, that neceſſarily became ſo diſadvantageous. The ſecrecy with which the one was conducted, and the ſurprize by which the other was forced upon them, were what chiefly contributed to their preſent forfeiture of military reputation, and the diſaſter that enſued. The planning and completing of the two bridges, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, and without the ſmalleſt diſcovery or intelligence of it by the enemy, was the maſter-piece of the military art ſhown on this occaſion by the catholic commanders. It was the labour of ſeveral nights; and the materials

neceſſary for it were, with privacy, prepared in the day *. The device made uſe to conceal this deſign, and miſlead the enemy, was only one of the artifices uſual in war. While the work was carried on, the duke of Anjou made a feint of quitting Chateau-Neuf, and of forcing a paſſage nearer Cognac, about which the prince of Condé's army appeared. As it was a neceſſary part of the plan to leave the baggage behind, with twelve hundred foot and horſe; care was alſo taken to make the moſt of this, by placing them on an eminence, that they might look like the body of the army. On the other hand, the proteſtant chiefs, though too ſecure in their opinion about the enemy's ability to paſs the river, and chiefly intent on ordering their march, were not altogether improvident of what might be attempted. By the admiral Coligni's direction, two regiments of foot and eight hundred horſe, to ſupport them, were ſtationed within almoſt a quarter of a league of Chateau-Neuf. His own quarters, with the van, were pitched at Baſſac, only a league from it, and thoſe of the prince were about as much farther removed from him. But this diſpoſition he made for watching the enemy's motions was rendered quite inſignificant by what may be reckoned, from various proofs, the incorrigible fault of the troops he commanded †. Retained without regular pay, unprovided with camp-furniture, they generally forſook their guards in the open field under night, and ſtraggled through the neighbouring villages. The admiral and the other chiefs were blamed for truſting, without their own immediate ſuperintendance, to the diligent performance of their orders, by ſuch faulty ſoldiers, on an emergency ſo critical. In the night before the thirteenth of March, the bridges being finiſhed, the light troops and the advanced guards

which is fought March 13.

* Caſtelnau, liv. vii. chap. 4. † D'Aubigne, liv. v. chap. 8.

of

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of the catholic army began to paſs them in ſilence. There was no diſcovery made of their motions, till La Loue, before ſun-riſe, making the round of the different poſts with fifty horſe, perceived Martigues' blue ſtandard waving in the midſt of a ſquadron, which advanced toward him with ſome ſpeed. By his retreat at full gallop, the admiral was ſoon informed of their approach. The paſs of a rivulet was immediately ſecured, and the different detachments were commanded by him to haſten to their rendezvous at Baſſac *. As Martigues, without being ſupported, could not venture to puſh beyond the brook, and the ſafe paſſage of it required conſiderable force and caution; there was ſtill ſufficient time to make an orderly retreat with the van. But full three hours paſſed before the captains Montgomery, Pluviault, and others, could draw together their ſtraggled detachments of horſe, and the two battalions of infantry. La Noue, mean while, bravely maintaining, with ſome troops of cavalry, the vigorous charge of the count de Briſſac and Martigues, who ſtrove to encompaſs him, was obliged to yield his defence of the rivulet, and overpowered by their numbers, before he could reach Baſſac, was thrown from his horſe and taken priſoner. The rout of his ſoldiers drove toward the village, was rallied by d'Andelot, who advanced with the readieſt party to the encounter †. This daring commander, after being heard to pronounce the charge to his ſoldiers, in the ſhort words, "Act now as I do," was ſeen immediately, on cloſing with the enemy, to lay hold of the beaver of the duke of Monſalez's helmet with one hand, and with the other to diſcharge a piſtol in his face, which laid him dead on the ground. By his bravery, Martigues was drove out of Baſſac with conſiderable loſs, and an opportunity given to the admi-

* Caſtelnau, ibid.

† D'Avila, ibid. D'Aubigne.

ral

ral to range the remainder of the van, when the village could be no longer held, in an advantageous ground behind it. As not only Monpenſier, with the whole left wing of the catholic army, but alſo des Tavannes, with the German Rheiters, was on the point of charging the admiral; matters were brought to a critical and dangerous extremity, in which the reſolution to ſacrifice a part of his troops, in order to ſave the reſt, hardly afforded the proſpect of eſcaping. It was then a courier was diſpatched to the prince of Condé, with advice of the unequal engagement to which the ſhattered van was expoſed. In the circumſtances in which his main battle was filing off in different bodies, at intervals, from one another, according to their directions for an expeditious march, the ſuccours he could inſtantly command to wheel back to the engagement, fell ſhort of the preſſing exigency. Unacquainted with lingering a moment, in the moſt unſeaſonable call of danger, he took the brave and unfortunate reſolution of ſupplying, by his perſonal appearance, and the choice of the beſt body of his cavalry, the deficiency of numbers to his reinforcement. They amounted only to ſeven troops of about fifty cavaliers in each. As they drew up around him, and were told what he expected from their valour, whom he looked on as the mirrours of his army, an accident ſeemed the foreboding frown of fortune, on his out-ſet for the combat. A ſtroke from the duke of Rochefoucault's horſe fractured the bone of his leg. With a countenance unaffected by the ſenſation of pain, and over-flushed with the glow of the warrior's ſpirit. " Remember *, ſaid he, nobility of France, that Lewis of Bourbon this day verifies his motto, and counts the condition, in which he now goes to battle, for the ſake of his reli-

* D'Aubigne, ibid.

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gion, of you, and of France, a circumſtance not unfavourable to his renown." The orders given to the reſt of the cavalry to join him, and the foot to follow after him at a proper pace; his judgment, when he perceived the admiral's troops giving way, where to make a ſtand, and the ground he choſe, and the diſpoſition of his ranks, in ſuch a manner, that a void ſpace was left for the rout to recover their order; altogether ſhewed his remarkable poſſeſſion of his faculties in the hour of dangerous action. It is ſuperfluous to attempt a further deſcription of a battle, of which on the one ſide there could be no original plan laid, and on the other there was neither previous deſign nor foreſight. To confirm the obſervation that has been often juſtly made, that the detail from eye-witneſſes, and commanders themſelves, of what paſſes in the heat of action, cannot altogether be depended on; father Daniel remarks *, that the memoirs of Tavannes, and thoſe of Caſtelnau, who were both preſent in the battle, diſagree in ſome material points. The general account given of the laſt ſcene of the battle, by the latter of thoſe authors, is adopted by moſt of the hiſtorians. After a charge by the prince of Condé, that exceeded any of the former inſtances of reſolution, and by which Monpenſier's van was repulſed, he was attacked on the flank by the duke of Anjou's main body, ſupported by Tavannes and the Rheiters, which overwhelmed his ſlender battalion. Bravery only prolonged the reſiſtance; till the prince, thrown from his horſe, which was wounded, and able only to raiſe himſelf upon one knee from the ground, ſurrendered himſelf to the ſieur d'Argens, to whom he gave his ſword and his parole. D'Avila, in contradiction to all the French hiſtorians, repreſents him as reſiſting and defending himſelf againſt his aſſailants, with the view,

and loſt by the proteſtants,

with the fatal incident of the prince of Condé's death.

* Tom. v. p. 902.

as

as may be juſtly ſuppoſed, of ſhading or palliating the deteſtable action which immediately followed; when the captain of the duke of Anjou's Swiſs guard, Monteſquieu, coming up, and being told who he was, with a volley of oaths cried out, Kill, kill, and ſhot him in the head with a piſtol. The infamy of the brutal aſſaſſination, which was generally abhorred in the catholic army, did not altogether reſt on the head of the perpetrator of it †. Brantome owns that the duke of Anjou's intimates had encouragement to believe, that ſuch a ſacrifice would not diſpleaſe him. So far from concealing his ſatisfaction, he is ſaid, upon hearing Cloud des Saintes' panegyric on his victory, to have entertained the deſign of erecting a chapel on the ſpot in which the prince of Condé was killed; Carnavalet, his governor, prevented this eruption of his vanity, which would have redounded to his ſhame. Such was the death of Lewis of Bourbon, the firſt prince of Condé, at the untimely age of thirty-eight years. The reſerve of nature in the ſize of his perſon, ſmall and ill-made, and the harſhneſs of fortune in the penury of his eſtate, and the depreſſion of his family, were recompenced by ſuch a contexture of ingenious, manly and agreeable qualities of ſpirit, temper and affections, as are rarely found in the ſame mind. Though amorous, and apt to indulge the faſhionable paſſion of the court, he ſtill broke through the ſnares queen Catherine laid to make him forſake his party, for the miſtreſſes ſhe threw in his way. He married for a ſecond time the duke of Longueville's ſiſter; when the widow of the marſhal St. André hoped to captivate him by her addreſſes, and the gift of her manor of St. Valeri. In the ſtricteſt judgment of his character in the conduct of the civil war, it may be ſaid that ſignal humanity and honour appeared; and that,

Circumſtances of it;

and the character he ſupported in the civil war.

† Eloge de Condé.

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though ſtrenuous and conſtant in the intereſt of the proteſtants, he effaced not the ideas of a prince of the blood of France. When he, who made the peace of Orleans and of Chartres againſt the inclinations of ſeverals of his adherents, found not the protection due to every ordinary captive in the field, it is not ſurpriſing to find that a foreigner, of inferior rank, Robert Stuart, a Scottiſh gentleman, already mentioned, whoſe name was obnoxious among the catholics, ſhould ſhare a ſimilar fate. Within the hearing of the duke of Anjou, whom he had intreated to ſave his life, he was diſpatched in cold blood, by Honorat de Savoy, marquis of Villars. From vague alledgance that it was he who gave the late conſtable Montmorency his mortal wound at the battle of St. Denis, Villars, who was his brother-in-law, thought himſelf entitled to importune and inſiſt with the duke of Anjou, to allow him this ignominious revenge *. Brantome, who relates the fact, tries to extenuate it from the impulſe of blood; but his own good heart immediately betrays him in the argument.

In the battle, many of the proteſtant gentry fall;

The duration of the battle, which was not ſhorter than ſix hours, did not render it bloody. Four hundred proteſtants were the ſum of their killed. Beſides the death of their chief, near a hundred gentlemen who periſhed with him, or fell into the enemy's hands, was the affecting part of their loſs. The victors may be ſaid to have gained more than their advantage by paſſing the Charente entitled them to; and the routed army to have ſuffered leſs ſlaughter than what it was expoſed to, from miſtaken conduct. It is plain that the prince of Condé was hurried by innate valour, and too ready compliance with the admiral's requiſition of aid, to main-

* De Connetable Montmorenci.

tain

tain with unequal forces the hopeleſs battle of the van againſt the entire army of the catholics. If, agreeable to their orders, the reſt of the main battle had marched up to the field, they would inevitably have been involved in the defeat. But d'Acier, who commanded the infantry, having advanced to Jarnac, and learned from the fugitives how matters went, judged it proper to ſtop ſhort, and having broke down the bridge, made a ſafe retreat to Cognac. A conſiderable part of the cavalry, by the ſame means, gained Xaintes. The admiral and his brother, with a reſolute band, taking an oppoſite courſe from the reſt of the rout, made their way to St. Jean d'Angeli. The blow the proteſtants received being of a different kind from what they had hitherto experienced, appeared to ſhake the baſis of their ſtrength and union. Bereft of that chief, whoſe name and quality, joined to his approved integrity and reſolution, upheld the reputation of their cauſe and intereſt, both at home and abroad, their hard fortune ſeemed to prepare them for the worſt conſequences of their preſent diſaſter. But the ſame policy of the court, which had alienated the prince of Condé from it, contributed ſtill to divide the blood royal of France, and ſtate the branches of it in oppoſition to each other. We have had occaſion to take notice in what circumſtances, from the violence of the papal threats, and the uſurpation of the court upon her authority in Bern, the queen of Navarre was placed. With inherent ideas of her independence, and a vigour of ſpirit ſurpaſſing that of her ſex, ſhe had reluctantly bore, and ſometimes oppoſed, the decrees and eſtabliſhments preſcribed by the king, with reſpect to the religion of her vaſſals. Expoſed to various diſguſts from the queen mother's pride and jealouſy, and to the prevailing faction of the court, ſhe

but the infantry are ſaved,

by the conduct of d'Acier.

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had quitted it with the view of educating her ſon in her own religion, and training him in a manner different both from the habits and ſubjection of a courtier. In her ſmall court, it is confeſt, that the dignity, the œconomy, and the manners, were admirably preſerved. In her final rupture with the court, and her tranſition to the proteſtant army, her judgment remarkably appears. She choſe that nice juncture, which pointed out the ſtrongeſt motive and argument for this conduct; when, by the perfidious purpoſe of the court to ſeize the prince of Condé, the ſame ſecret aſſault on the princes of Bourbon and her obnoxious houſe might be juſtly ſuſpected; and when the ignominious meaſure appeared odious to ſeveral foreign courts *. Her letters on that occaſion to the queen mother and the royal family, and her expoſtulatory epiſtle to the prince of Conde's brother, the cardinal of Bourbon, were ſpecimens both of her political and literary endowments.

Without dreading the conſequences of the defeat at Jarnac,

Upon account of the loſs of the battle, and the death of that prince, ſhe did not wait at Rochelle to ſee what might be the effect of that diſaſter; but ſetting timeouſly out, with the two Henrys, her ſon, and the young Condé, the one fifteen years of age, and the other ſixteen, ſhe preſented herſelf at Cognac. Her introduction, ſoon after, at Tonnay Charente, to an aſſembly of the chiefs, and her affecting and animating ſpeech to a muſter of the officers and troops appointed in the city, and the tender ſhe made of the two youthful princes to ſucceed to the title and authority of their principal head, ſhewed at once her ardor to ſupport the intereſt of her family, and her knowledge of the diſpoſition of the admiral, and the other commanders, to concur with her wiſhes. D'Avila

the queen of Navarre brings her ſon and the young Condé to the proteſtant army;

* Thuan. lib. xlii. p. 881.

aſcribes

aſcribes this appearance ſhe made, to Coligni's invitation and contrivance. He was now, indeed, the acting head and main ſtay of a party, which, without him, would have recoiled, and perhaps been overwhelmed under their preſent misfortune. An oath of fidelity to the prince of Bern being taken by the troops at hand; and St. Jean d'Angeli pitched upon for their retreat, and the ſecurity of their perſons; the councils of war proceeded with little difficulty or interruption. It was determined that the troops being diſpoſed of to the beſt advantage, in the adjacent garriſons held by the proteſtants upon the Charente and the borders of the Xaintonge, they ſhould endeavour to maintain their preſent ground; and expecting what might be the duke of Anjou's firſt puſh after his victory, to employ their forces thus in the neareſt conjunction, to obſtruct or diminiſh the advantage he might gain. Montgomery was detached to Angouleme with ſeven troops of cavalry. Piles, who brought up a ſmall reinforcement from Perigord, was ordered to throw himſelf into Xaintes. It was underſtood that the duke of Anjou would, moſt likely, make the trial of his ſtrength upon Cognac, where the greateſt body of the remaining army might be cruſhed by a ſucceſsful ſtroke. He took this courſe, and was obliged by the garriſon, commanded by d'Acier, of eight thouſand foot, which had not approached the field of Jarnac, to raiſe the ſiege in four days. This decided how far ſhort of expectation the fruit of his victory would prove. For ſome gleanings of it, and the ſubſiſtence of his army, he turned towards Perigord, where the reduction of ſome places did not recompence his labour, and the lives of ſome brave officers that were loſt. At the ſiege of Mucidan the gallant count de Briſſac, to the general regret of the ſoldiers, ſhared the lot of war and bravery. On the other ſide, after many hazards in

which takes an oath of fidelity to the prince of Bern,

and ſoon appears in a condition to recover its diſaſter.

Book V. the field, various encounters ſuſtained, and military toils undergone, d'Andelot, ranked among the foremoſt French commanders, and called the *fearleſs* in the army, was carried off by an epidemical fever at Xaintes. His death at this time was a particular aggravation of the loſſes that befel the proteſtant army.

1569. Death of d'Andelot.

CHAP. IV.

1569.

March of German auxiliaries to the proteſtants, under the duke des Deux Ponts—La Charite taken—Skirmiſh of La-Roche-la-belle—Receſs of the catholic army—Montgomery's expedition into Bern—Siege of Poictiers—The proteſtants hurried by their repulſe to a general action—Battle of Montcontour—Various proteſtant garriſons reduced by Anjou—Siege of St. Jean d'Angeli.

WHILE Te Deum was ſung by the court for the victory at Jarnac, and flaming accounts of the total overthrow of the proteſtants were publiſhed through the kingdom, the place to which the king and queen mother had betaken themſelves, ſhewed that a freſh and formidable combatant was ready, on the frontiers, to enter the liſts, and reſtore the warlike vigour of the weakened party. This was Wolfang of Bavaria, duke of Deux Ponts, whom Frederic count Palatine had appointed to head the German auxiliaries, granted to the prince of Condé, into France. To oppoſe his expedition, the court removing to Metz, had drawn together a large body of forces, under the command of the dukes of Aumale and Remours. The new levies of Swiſs and Italians conducted, as has been already obſerved, by the duke of Nevers, with ſome companies under the baron de Adrets from Dauphiny, compoſed this army. Upon the diſbanding of the prince of Orange's troops in Alſace, a ſtruggle had been made by both the contending parties, to enliſt the vagrant bands of them in their ſervice. La Coche and many other proteſtant captains from Dauphiny and Geneva, whoſe martial enterprizes were now interrupted at home, had repaired to this new mart of war at Stratſbourg; to which Genlis, who died there, had led them the way. The duke of Aumale had attempted

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to curb this rendezvous, by marching into the territory of the empire; but the fear of provoking the emperor, and the approach of the duke des Deux Ponts, obliged him to withdraw to the Franche Comte and the borders of Burgundy *. The army of the Germans, in number and array, exceeding any body of troops that had marched from that country, amounted to ſeven thouſand ſix hundred Rheiters, and ſix thouſand Lanſquenets. Beſides the German captains of note, the prince of Orange, with his two brothers, Ludovic and Henry, irritated with the court of France by the promiſe and diſappointment given him, about the diſcharge of the arrears of his troops, had joined the expedition. The body of French commandants, who ſucceſſively appeared, Genlis's brother, Morvilliers, Claremont, marquis of Renel, the younger Briquemont, Feuquiere, and others, being added to the Belgic lords; their train augmented the army by above two thouſand men. The preſence and advice of thoſe chieftains were of ſtill more moment and utility than the troops they brought. To encourage the Germans, and to direct them in the courſe of an expedition, more tedious, and in the proſpect, more intimidating than any formerly undertaken by their countrymen, required the utmoſt exertion of their prudence and military ſkill. In the preſent ſtate of the proteſtant army they went to ſuccour, nothing leſs than a tranſition through almoſt the longeſt line that could be drawn through the middle of France to its extremities, even on the ſuppoſition they could proceed in a direct courſe, was ſufficient to accompliſh their projected enterprize. The army already aſſembled under the dukes of Aumale and Nemours, though unequal to engage in a pitched battle with them, was capable of diſputing rivers, paſſes of the country, encampments, quarters, and the collection of pro-

The German duke des Deux Ponts, marching his levies to the aſſiſtance of the proteſtants,

* Thuan. ibid. p. 899.

viſions, during the lengthening turns of their enormous march. But the hardy ſpirit of thoſe adventrous troops, and the warlike genius of the commanders, outbraved all this train of apparent difficulties. The Saon was paſſed at Montreuil, without annoyance from the catholic forces. A conſiderable ſtroke d'Aumale threatened, at a ſmall river near Beaune, turned to a ſlight ſkirmiſh. After convoying the German rear through the ſkirts of Burgundy, d'Aumale was obliged to quicken his pace, and leave thoſe behind he had to no purpoſe followed. He haſtened, as they did to the Loire, to employ his forces in ſeizing the paſſages of it, which appeared impregnably ſhut againſt them, by a chain of garriſons and poſts poſſeſſed by the catholics *. With a few ſmall field pieces, only fit for ſignals and the defence of their camp, the German commanders could not propoſe to aſſault any of thoſe towns, within which the bridges of the Loire were either incloſed, or ſtood connected with the walls and towers. The moſt they hoped for from the ſeaſon of the year, was the diſcovery of a ford, where they might venture to paſs. For pointing out this, they were indebted to Guerchy, who had been a priſoner in the late battle, and obtained his liberty. When ſome troops of horſe were got over, the officers and the army were animated with freſh boldneſs and courage. The town of la Charite ſtood in their view. Eager for the graſp of ſome prize of their labours, the ſoldiers called out to make an attack. Their commanders eaſily agreed to try the reſolution of the defendants. From both ſides of the army, the field pieces being plyed, and ſome damage done to the ramparts, the city was thrown into a ſudden conſternation; the governor fled out of it; and while the garriſon offered to capitulate, the walls

ſurmounts various difficulties,

takes la Charite on the Loire;

* D'Avila, liv. iv.

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were ſcaled by the French and German ſoldiers. The booty was allowed to belong to the latter. Such an iſſue of the expedition, undertaken by the duke of Deux Ponts, of which even thoſe who had placed their main hope in it had deſpaired, threw the court, from rejoicing, into perplexity, and diſgraced more remarkably the conduct of the joint commanders of the catholic army in Burgundy *; which, before the paſſage of the river by the Germans, had been joined by two thouſand foot and fifteen hundred Rheiters, ſent from Flanders by the duke of Alva, under the command of count Mansfield. Diſagreement between d'Aumale and Nemours, an accident that might have been eaſily foreſeen, could only account for their management. The king, apt to criticize the campaigns in which they allowed him no ſhare, was highly incenſed. No leſs diſturbed to find the duke of Anjou embarraſſed in his motions, the queen mother ſet out for the Limouſen, where his army lay unactive; while the Germans proceeded with ſmall difficulty to finiſh their march, by the paſſage of the Vienne, and a conſequent junction with the forces of the princes, which advanced on the other ſide of that river to meet them. The day before this was effected, on the eleventh of June, at Chaſtus, the duke of Deux Ponts' death, by a quartan ague, damped the joy of the united camp. Volrad count Mansfield had been nominated by him to ſucceed to the chief command, and the German officers exhorted to perform with fidelity the ſervice expected of them. To the congratulation and encomium beſtowed on their military proweſs, and the ſurprizing conduct of their march †, the admiral added various preſents of chains of gold, and medals, engraved with the queen of Navarre's, and her ſon's effigies; and the Latin inſcription, *Pax certa*,

and dies of an ague, June 11th.

the day before the junction of his army with that of the princes.

* Caſtelnau, liv. vii. chap. 5.

† Caſtelnau, ibid. D'Avila, ibid.

certa, victoria integra, aut mors honesta. When they drew nearer the enemy's quarters, a review being ordered to be made of the German troops, a month's pay was advanced to them.

After the arrival of the German troops,

THE event of a battle does not always determine the fortune of the campaign. Reinforced as the catholic army was, after the victory at Jarnac, by the rest of the German recruits under the marquis of Baden, and a body of five thousand Italian foot and a thousand horse, sent by the pope, and commanded by the count de Sanctafiore, a celebrated general; the duke of Anjou found it necessary to remain on the defensive. This had been determined in a council of war, where queen Catherine was present; not merely from the view of tiring out the enemy, but on account of the situation of the French troops, that had suffered, for some time past, by want of pay and provisions. The funds of the court being drained, and * incumbered many ways, credit sunk, and money could not be commanded. It astonished the court to find out, by what means the confederate chiefs were capable of supporting their army. In these circumstances, when many of the catholic lords, being discontented, and unable to continue the campaign, and requiring leave to retire, were on the point of disbanding; it seemed dangerous to run the hazard of a battle, in which the fate of the kingdom might happen to be resigned to the decision of foreign troops, that constituted the bulk of the armies on both sides. It was agreed therefore, that while the enemy advanced, either towards Perigord or Poictou, the army should be encamped in ground which could be easily maintained, without disputing the field with them, and at the same time afford the best temporary subsistance

the duke of Anjou acts on the defensive,

* Ibid.

for

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for the troops. Such the country at la Roche-la-belle, near St. Irier, in the Limouſin, was judged to be †; where the duke of Anjou had formed ſuch retrenchments, as, together with the natural ſtrength of his ſituation, might well be reckoned inacceſſible by a ſuperior force. A deep valley near a riſing ground encompaſſed with marſhes, ſupplying on one ſide the place of artificial lines of defence, the greateſt part of the artillery was placed here, under the cuſtody of the Swiſs battalions. Every diviſion of the troops had its cover from the circumvallation, except two foot regiments, which choſe to take their ſtation on the outſide of the marſh, on ground fenced only by hedges and trees. Secure in this poſition, the duke of Anjou gave little attention to the motions of the enemy, who by this time had reached St. Irier; till an exchanged priſoner brought him intelligence, that they were marching in order of battle towards his camp. The admiral ſoon perceived, on viewing the camp, that the ſurprize into which his ſudden appearance had thrown the catholic army, could be followed with no important advantage. That he might not depart altogether foiled of his aim, he reſolved immediately to fall on the two battalions which lay expoſed. This produced the combat of la Roche-la-belle; which was reckoned among the moſt ſignal ſkirmiſhes in the civil war. Begun by the brave Piles, who threw himſelf with the forlorn hope, and ſome light troops, into the midſt of the enemy's infantry; and ſuſtained on the other ſide by Strozzi, who then firſt acted as general of the French foot; the conflict ſoon became vigorous and of doubtful iſſue. A ſpectacle to the two armies, who beheld the valour of the combatants for the honour of each of them, and balanced their ſtrength by alternate ſuc-

and t' e attack of his intrenchments produces

the ſignal ſkirmiſh of la Roche-la-belle, June 24, 1569;

† Thuan. ibid. p. 901.

cours;

cours; pride and obſtinacy urged, and prolonged the bloody conteſt. Strozzi's indignation, excited by the French ſoldiers, who could not help rehearſing the name of their favourite leader the count de Briſſac, occaſioned his overacting his part. By running ‡ headlong into danger, he expoſed his party to an entire defeat, and himſelf to fall into the hands of the enemy. Four hundred catholic ſoldiers, and no leſs than twenty-two of their officers ſlain on the field, ſhewed the advantage their antagoniſts had gained, and how little quarter had been given in the termination of the hot engagement. Fluſhed with their victory, the proteſtant ſoldiers puſhed on towards the hill and the entrenchments, and expoſed themſelves to the fire of the artillery, until the admiral ordered a retreat to be ſounded, and marched up himſelf to prevent their being intercepted and cut off. Their loſs was reckoned not more than fifty men. It was not in this encounter, as d'Avila aſſerts, that the prince of Navarre performed his firſt exploit in arms. Though both he, and the young prince of Condé, attended the army; neither of them yet appeared in their place of command, in the time of action, until the ſubſequent combat of Arnay-le-Due. After ſome ſkirmiſhing next day, the armies declined encountering further with each other. As many of the catholic nobility and officers daily retired from the camp, the duke of Anjou waited only till the army of the princes, prevented from quartering in the Limouſin, had directed its rout towards Perigord; and then, agreeable to what had been before reſolved, broke up his army; and having aſſigned proper cantonments for the foreigners, he appointed the firſt of October for the re-aſſemblage of the troops. After an excurſion into Perigord, not in ſearch of any

in which ſome catholic troops ſuffer;

and ſoon after their army breaks up;

‡ Brantome de Strozzi.

body

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and that of the princes marches into Poictou.

body of the enemy, or of the conqueſt of towns, but to purchaſe ſubſiſtance for his troops; the admiral turned towards Poictou, where ſeveral previous enterprizes, effectuated by ſome proteſtant chiefs, paved the way for more extenſive and important operations of war. Before he proceeded to theſe *, a diſpatch, in form of a petition, addreſſed to the king, being tranſmitted by him to the duke of Anjou; the meſſenger could not obtain a paſſport to the court. It contained an offer of ſubmiſſion, on the grant of the free exerciſe of religion to the proteſtants. Queen Catherine truſted now more to her cabinet councils than to conferences; and it was thought becoming the dignity of the king, in the preſent turn of affairs, to give for an anſwer, that he would make no conceſſions, unleſs the opponents of his government laid down their arms.

IN the receſs of the duke of Anjou's army, the admiral, now maſter of the field, revolved in his mind the main plan of the war. His troops, however inceſſant and toilſome their ſervice had been, could not ſo eaſily, as the catholics, be diſmiſſed, and ſuddenly recalled to action. Their chief places of retreat were in the remote province of Xaintonge, which it was not convenient to reviſit, and exhauſt with the maintenance of the army. Animated with the junction of the Germans, the French officers, who always diſcovered impatience when ſome enterprize was not immediately preſented before them, required now, with more than ordinary ardor, that the preſent opportunity of annoying the enemy ſhould be embraced, and the campaign diſtinguiſhed by an atchievement proportioned to the ſuperiority of their forces †. There

* Thuan. ibid. † D'Avila, liv. v. Thuan. ibid. p. 908.

were

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were two objects, on which the deliberation of the admiral and the chief commanders turned; to take the ſhorteſt courſe of forcing the paſſage of the Loire, and carrying the war towards the metropolis of the kingdom; or to apply their preſent ſtrength to the entire reduction of the province of Poictou. The one ſcheme was grand, and not very difficult in the execution. It reſtored the credit of their power, haſtened the deciſion of their fortune, and might prove the moſt hurtful to their adverſaries. The other, leſs flattering in its view, requiring more pains, more military preparations, and rather more force, connected better the operations of the war, united their conqueſts, and gave them, when they had loſt hold of moſt of the cities, a firm eſtabliſhment in a large diſtrict of France, adjacent to that where they already had the dominion. Theſe ſchemes were not incompatible; but adherence to the one might mar the advancement of the other. It appears that the admiral judged the former moſt eligible, and had determined to reduce only two or three weak garriſons, which lay in his way to Saumur on the Loire. He knew that the ſiege of towns, which required time, labour, and ſtores of artillery and ammunition, were, of all military undertakings, the worſt adapted to the condition and temper of his troops. But the attempts made by the count de Lude, commandant of Poictiers, to beſiege Niort, which failed only from the obſtinate defence of Pluviaut and the ſuccours conducted to it by Teligni and la Loue; and the ſurpriſing expedition with which thoſe catholic chieftains ſoon after made themſelves maſters, firſt of the town of Chattelrault, then of Luſignan and its caſtle, which was counted impregnable, turned the ſuffrage of many of the commanders, and at length the reſolution of the admiral himſelf in favour of the ſiege of the capital

The admiral deliberates, whether to employ his forces

in beſieging Poictiers,

or in carrying the war near the metropolis of the kingdom;

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tal of that province. In a caſe which, however weighed, might juſtly be reckoned of ambiguous judgment, an alteration of a part of the general meaſure would be more eaſily adopted by him †. D'Aubigne affirms, that while Coligni agreed to the project of the ſiege, he dreaded the event, and that he rather yielded to the ſolicitation of the Poictevin nobleſſe in the army, than followed his own opinion. Conceſſions of this kind the admiral was ſometimes obliged to make; though no commander in equal circumſtances, ever ſhewed more firmneſs in his purpoſes. Among the few ſeparate enterprizes carried on by particular chiefs, previous to the ſiege of Poictiers; that executed by the count of Montgomery in Bearn was the moſt ſignal. Detached by commiſſion from the queen of Navarre, to recover her territory out of the hands of Terride the governor of Quercy, who had invaded it in the king's name, and made a conqueſt of the whole, except the city of Navarrins; Montgomery ſurpaſſed the utmoſt expectation that could be formed of his ability and conduct. Having ſcarce an eſcort of troopers when he ſet out from the army, he was obliged to borrow his main reinforcements from the viſcounts at Montauban, to collect and form the bulk of his troops on his march, to evade by artful and quick marches, the marſhal d'Amville, and Monluc, who on two quarters threatened to fall on him with ſuperior forces; and laſtly, to fight and vanquiſh Terride in a country he had already ſubdued *. He ſignalized that promptneſs in action, and unembarraſſed valour for which he was eminent in the army, and accompliſhed all this. It appears that the catholic chieftains were at a loſs, for ſome time, to penetrate into his deſign, until he opened his way, by ſtorming Tarbes, into Bearn,

and reſolves on the former.

† Liv. v. chap. 15. * Ibid. chap. 14.

and

1569. while the count de Montgomery makes an expedition into Bearn.

and drove thoſe before him, who carried frightful tidings of his forces to Terride. The ſiege of Navarrins was abandoned by the governor, and he retreated with his army to Ortez. Here he could not ſave himſelf. Shut up with ſix knights of the order, thirty captains of note, and part of their ſoldiers in an old caſtle, againſt which his own artillery was pointed; Terride was forced to ſurrender. Whatever the terms of it were, about which hiſtorians diſagree, the putting to death four barons as domeſtic traitors to the queen of Navarre, was the only inglorious part of Montgomery's triumph; which completed the reduction of the whole canton of Bearn. The quarrel into which Monluc entered with the marſhal d'Amville, upon the event of his ſucceſs, is curious; and became afterwards more remarkable †. A man, who deſired to gratify the court by every action, and wanted to point out the importance and the obligation of his military conduct, who diminiſhed the merit of his exploits, by the retail of them, and the conſtant endeavour to ſhew that none were ſo faithful and active in the king's ſervice as himſelf, thought it became him, on this occaſion, to blame and charge d'Amville with failure in duty. It was petulance and opiniatry challenging haughtineſs and ſupercilious diſdain. He was treated by the marſhal as an upſtart and an adventurer, who ſacrificed honour and every principle, to that of rendering himſelf the mean inſtrument of the will of a party. Their diſcord, which ſtrongly marked their characters, was diſadvantageous to the ſervice of the court. From conſtant employment and hard duty, ſuch broils were rarer among the chiefs, on the other ſide. Pluviaut's activity * and proweſs, which ſaved Niort, were conſpicuous and memorable. "Behold your colours,

† Addit. aux Caſtel. liv. iv. * D'Aubigne, ibid. chap. 12.

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said he to his soldiers, pointing to the two steeples of the besieged town, when he marched up to throw succours into it; to them we must resort on life and honour." Lamed and half dead with the wounds he received, he refused to hear of any capitulation, but ordered himself to be carried to the breach, that he might lye on the spot, or behold the repulse of the enemy. Equally successful was the baron de Guerchy in defending la Charite, which was besieged by the count de Sansac with seven thousand men. But those assaults, which shewed the strength of the catholics on the south side of the Loire, were arguments in favour of the siege of Poictiers.

The siege of Poictiers is begun July 24th.

THIS city, one of the largest in France for the circuit of its walls, situated upon the declivity of several rocky eminences around it, and invironed by the river Clin on the south and east, presented a level opening only from one quarter. But from the heights, which rose close upon its other sides, it was overlooked and liable to be commanded by artillery †. From the ridgy ground which formed various natural entrenchments, and curtains of defence; from the depth and curvatures of the river, which produced a lake in one place, and by canals filled the ditch in others; Poictiers derived a defensibility and strength; which was not immediately obvious nor much discernible from the walls and towers. With one bulwark or citadel, and the ordinary range of bastions then used, it was a place capable of affording work for an enemy, even though he could make a close approach to it, and plant his batteries to the best advantage. As the admiral's design of besieging it was soon known, by his transporting the large culverins

† D'Avila, liv. v.

found

found in the caſtle of Luſignan, and other preparations; the count de Lude had made the beſt diſpoſitions time and circumſtances allowed, for a gallant defence. His garriſon, ſmall compared with the number of the beſieging army, and with the wide extent of the city, conſiſted almoſt wholly of regular ſoldiers; the companies formed out of the inhabitants, amounting only to ſix hundred men *. By the reinforcement brought by Henry the young duke of Guiſe, accompanied by his brother the duke of Mayenne, it was increaſed to full ſix thouſand combatants; a body more than proportioned to the ſtores of proviſions provided in the city. This young nobleman, who came as a volunteer to ſignalize himſelf in that part of the warlike ſcience, the defence of places, for which his father was renowned, had drawn around him a number of the moſt experienced commanders. His name and preſence animated the whole garriſon, and engaged the officers to diſplay the utmoſt of their military ſkill and addreſs. We may judge, however, from the mean proviſion of cannon which de Thou mentions, as unſuitable to the occaſion and exigency, how imperfect the uſe and employment of them were in the ſieges of thoſe days. Six heavy pieces, eleven of an ordinary ſize, and ſome antient ones, which had long ſerved in the caſtle, compoſed the whole train of Poictiers. Their ſtore of artificial fire-works is ſaid to have been very copious. They conſiſted of the ſimple inventions of fire-balls of pitch and roſin, and other combuſtibles; and of boiling oil, kept ready to be daſhed down from the caſements of the towers aſſailed. Poles of great length, with iron hooks and claws, and bunches of croſſed ſpikes were alſo projected to obſtruct the cloſe aſſault. The artillery and warlike engines of the beſieging army, we may believe, were no more than correſpondent

* Thuan. ibid. p. 909.

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to thoſe of the city, in number and quality. Fourteen * large cannon, eight field pieces, and ſome other ſmall tire, is the catalogue given of the ordnance. Their main battery, which played againſt the Pont a-Joubert was formed of eight culverins; the reſt being ranged on different places of the heights that over-topped the walls of the city. Lines of circumvalation, generally neglected at that time, were not drawn by the beſiegers, who in one place are ſaid to have preſerved the communication of their quarters, on different ſides of the river, by cables ſtretched acroſs it; and to have thrown up a trench oppoſite to that gate of the city from which the moſt frequent ſallies were made. Advantage was taken of this defect of the military art. Onoux the catholic commander in St. Mixant, marched nine leagues in ſix hours, and with ſix hundred men forced his way into Poictiers. Breaches in ſeveral places of the walls were ſoon made, and the beſiegers are reckoned, in one day, to have diſcharged more than eight hundred cannon ſhot. In advancing to the aſſault, their main obſtruction was the paſſage of the Clin. They formed a floating bridge of rafters and hogſheads, and large caſks bound together with chains and ropes; which however was judged too narrow and weak to bear ſuch a body of foot, as was neceſſary to encounter the enemy †. In the diſpoſition made for this aſſault, a file of picked muſketeers, who carried targets, followed them; and the German foot with their lances and ſpears cloſed the rear. By this inſtance, and others that might be mentioned, it appears that ſhields and targets were ſtill uſed at ſieges, eſpecially by the officers when they went to reconnoitre the enemy's works, or advanced to mount the battered towers. When for puniſhment of the inſolent breach of military

After much labour and toil, the beſieging army,

* D'Aubigne, liv. v. chap. 15. † Thuan. ibid p. 900.

diſcipline,

diſcipline, a captain who drew his ſword in the admiral's company, was condemned to ſurvey, and bring a report of the breadth of the ruin in the wall; he is ſaid to have been allowed to march up covered with his corſlet and ſhield. After the repeated labour of conſtructing two other bridges, made ſtronger than the firſt one, by piles of wood ſunk into the bed of the Clin, the beſiegers found the enemy baffled their toil, by contriving to raiſe an inundation of the river on the inſide of the wall, and around the breach. For a third time, the main battery and attack were changed to another part of the ſuburbs, at firſt neglected. Here the beſieged, to protect themſelves from the ſhot of the enemy from the higher ground, raiſed a gallery over the bridge, and along the cauſeway that led to the wall of the ſuburbs. In it however a ſufficient breach was opened. But the adjacent towers and other works about the bridge were not ſo compleatly ruined as to facilitate the aſſault. This, notwithſtanding, being attempted by the precipitate courage of the officers, when a charge was only intended to be given, it coſt the lives of many brave ſoldiers. Piles was carried off ſeverely wounded, while numbers of his corps fell by chain ſhot, and pieces of iron diſcharged from the artillery. Before this time, a dyſentery had broke out in the camp. Many of the commanders ſickened, and the admiral was ſeized with the malady. When a retreat was become altogether requiſite, the approach of the duke of Anjou with a large body of his troops to Chattelrault, furniſhed a plauſible pretext for raiſing the ſiege. Want of proviſions had reduced the garriſon to great ſtraits; and, though the loſs of common ſoldiers was inconſiderable, the number of diſtinguiſhed commanders that were killed during the ſiege, damped the joy the city felt from its delivery. The beſieging army was computed

ſuffering by an epidemical malady,

abandon the enterpriſe.

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to have ſuffered the diminution of two thouſand men, by wounds and the epidemical diſtemper.

THE effect of the diſcompoſure of the army of the princes, by the unfortunate ſiege of Poictiers, was not immediately apparent. The admiral had the preſent ſatisfaction of obliging the duke of Anjou to abandon the ſiege of Chattelrault, after having thrown away two hundred ſoldiers before it, and to accelerate his retreat beyond the Creuſe and the Vienne. Having retired, however, in good order, with ſuch judgment of his ground, that he could not be forced to a battle; the admiral ſoon ceaſed to follow him, and withdrew to refreſh his troops to Faye-la-Vineuſe. When he was gone the duke decamped from his entrenchments at Selle, and retreated to Chinon; where he expected the general rendezvous of his army. It was in the receſs from action *, that the many difficulties with which the proteſtant party ſtrove, always recurred with their greateſt preſſure. Straitened for ſafe and convenient quarters, and in want of pay, ſevered from their families, and overſpent and depreſſed with their military toils, the French nobility and ſoldiers were apt, ſometimes, to ſet the example of impatience and diſquiet to the querulous, and diſcontented foreigners. Heightened by the gloom of the diſaſterous iſſue of the late ſiege, the admiral perceived this cloud of diſcontent ready to break forth on his army. It was the more dangerous at this criſis, when the duke of Anjou was expected to return to the field, with recruited and ſuperior force. But this was not the thing feared by the French gentry, or the ground of their complaints. In their dejection, they wiſhed to meet their enemies, and inſiſted, whatever the forces of the

The repulſe and havock ſuſtained by the army of the princes,

* D'Aubigne, ibid. chap. 18.

catholics

catholics might be, that a general battle ſhould directly determine their fate, and conclude, in ſome ſhape, their endleſs diſtreſſes. It was the tone and attitude natural to men, who had endured ſuch a courſe of hardſhips; the eruption of which the admiral had ſeen and ſurmounted on former occaſions. But the diſmiſſion of the French troops for a ſeaſon, the wonted expedient of their relief, conſiſted not with the retention and maintenance of the Germans; who, in ſuch a caſe, would have been ready to revolt to the ſervice of the catholics. It happened, at the ſame time, that in the councils of war held by the latter, the ſame argument about the advantage of venturing a general engagement with the admiral, was with equal anxiety, but with more deliberation and compoſure, conſidered and diſcuſſed. Different opinions were given upon the point, by the two marſhals, de Coſſe and de Tavannes; and the judgments of the other commanders were divided between them. But ſeveral of the chief courtiers, favouring the inclination of the duke of Anjou, who wiſhed to increaſe the fame he had acquired at Jarnac, and others grudging the drain of the finances by the numerous bodies of foreign troops; the determination of Tavannes, for obliging the enemy to an engagement, was ſoon embraced. It was evident, indeed, that the catholic troops now augmented by the return of the crown vaſſals and rear bands of the royal domain, were in ſeveral reſpects better fitted than their adverſaries for the combat. They had enjoyed the benefit of a ſhort reſpite of the campaign; they exceeded the proteſtants in numbers, and had the advantage of attacking them at a diſtance from their garriſons. As it was underſtood that the admiral, who expected to be joined by the count of Montgomery from Bern, would endeavour to withdraw to the lower Poictou; along with the reſolution of obliging him

rendering the troops impatient and mutinous,

the admiral is obliged to appear deſirous of a deciſive action.

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him to fight, that of occupying Montcontour before him alſo was taken. To ſeize this place, which was only a ſmall town with a ſlight fort, but the neceſſary paſs for the admiral's forces, the duke of Anjou's army was with the utmoſt diligence and expedition preſently put in motion; and a few days march brought the catholics in ſight of the enemy.

Sept. 30th.

THE circumſtances in which the admiral attempted to quit the field, and decline an encounter with the duke of Anjou's forces, were ſingular. In vain had he tried to diſpoſe the chieftains of his army to acquieſce in this reſolution. The obvious argument of its diſadvantage and danger from the ſuperiority of the catholics being diſregarded by them *; he inſiſted not on what might excite improper impreſſions or increaſe the irritation of their minds; but appeared to enter into their ſentiments, and to conſpire with their determined purpoſe of bringing the fortune of the campaign to a ſpeedy deciſion. He encouraged them with the expectation of this; and while he gave them aſſurance, that he wanted only to advance ſo far towards the confines of Poictou; that the count of Montgomery might not be intercepted in his march to join the army, he gradually induced them to take the rout of Montcontour; from whence he could have ſoon thrown himſelf into a defenſive ſituation. His ſcheme was eaſy to be accompliſhed; and the approach of winter rendered its ſucceſs more infallible. But the ſhew the admiral was obliged to make of not retiring before the catholics, contributed to defeat his deſign, and the impatient and unruly temper of his troops occaſioned his engaging in a battle, which it was his main ſtudy and endeavour to ſhun †.

Aiming, however, to avoid an encounter with the duke of Anjou,

* D'Avila, liv. v. † Thuan. lib. xliv. p. 914.

Already

Already with the vanguard he had reached St. Cler, within two leagues of Montcontour, and the chieftains la Noue and la Loue, detached with ſeven troops of horſe and a party of foot, had taken poſſeſſion of that village; when the duke of Monpenſier commander of the catholic van, informed that la Moue, who brought up the admiral's rear with two hundred cavalry, and about the ſame number of muſqueteers, marched ſlowly and without apprehenſion of an attack, redoubled his expedition to fall upon him. Moue, contrary to his uſual diligence, had both deceived himſelf with reſpect to the diſtance of the enemy, and miſinformed the admiral, who had charged him with the buſineſs of intelligence. Confident of the certainty of the report he had made, that there were only ſome flying parties of the enemy at hand; he received the firſt charge of Monpenſier's troops, as if he had been fully a match for them; and boldly ſtood his ground, till Martigues came up, and cut off a fourth of his party, and put the reſt to flight. Meanwhile, at this inſtant, the two main diviſions of the admiral's troops, having croſſed a part of the plain, or moor, that led to Montcontour, in no other order than that of their long march, were ſtruck with ſurpriſe, and confounded with the rout of the rear; which brought the firſt intelligence that the catholic van was cloſe behind purſuing the blow already given. There was no way of getting into proper arrangement, till a brook, which lay before them bordered with a defile, was paſſed. This could not be done, without increaſing the confuſion and diſorder. But the duke of Monpenſier, not having reſolution to make the moſt of it, allowed the admiral time to form his van on the other ſide, and recover the conſternation into which his troops were viſibly thrown. One error generated another. By Monpenſier's ſlipping the manifeſt advantage he might have taken, it was now preſumed that he

and by reaching Montcontour,

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had advanced too far with part of his vanguard; and ſtood as obnoxious to a defeat, as before he appeared capable of diſcomfiting his enemy. From the extreme of the firſt ſurprize, the opinion of many of the commanders changed into this oppoſite notion of their ability to repel Monpenſier's charge, to his coſt. The admiral was flattered into this belief, and willing to encourage the ardor of his troops, appointed a choice body of them, and conducted a party himſelf, to repaſs the rivulet and aſſault the enemy. In the firſt charge which was well ſuſtained, a conſiderable repulſe was given to Martigues; but the duke of Monpenſier being reinforced by the freſh troops of the main battle, the retreat became difficult and perillous. The previous diſpoſitions that were concerted on the bank, in caſe of a diſaſter, prevented the havock of the ſoldiers, but did not hinder their confuſed diſſipation. Clermont d'Amboiſe, unrecovered from ſickneſs, and without his armour, and with only twenty horſe, diſtinguiſhed his valour, by defending a paſs of the rivulet for a conſiderable ſpace of time, againſt a great body of the catholics. The action was now changed into a cannonade by the latter; which galled the German Rheiters, who took intreaty to keep their poſt on the bank. When their attempts to force a paſſage failed, and the fire of the cannon ceaſed, the admiral under night ſilently drew off his troops, and encamped between the rivulet and the Dive; thence he next day extended his quarters to Montcontour and the villages near it, where he was covered by the Dive a narrow river, but not every where fordable. Such were the previous movements and combats of the two armies in the interval of three days before the general engagement enſued. The advantage the catholics appeared to gain in them tended to elevate the courage of their troops *. It is

to throw his army into a defenſive ſituation;

his purpoſe is baffled by the vigilance of the catholic commanders.

* D'Aubigne, liv. v. chap. 16.

even

even affirmed that private advice was ſent, by ſome in the catholic camp, to the admiral to caution him againſt riſquing a battle in the preſent circumſtances. He again brought this reſolution under debate among the commanders, and ſo far ſucceeded in perſuading many of them to what he extremely wiſhed, that ſome meaſures were taken for marching before day-break to Ervaux, upon the river Thoue, whither the enemy could not have ſoon come up with him. The duke of Anjou being obliged to take a circuit by the head of the Dive, it was eaſy to have out-marched him by ſeveral hours. But in the rendezvous in the morning, ſome of the German corps became mutinous about their pay. Before this diſorder could be quelled, in effectuating which, the two young princes of Navarre and Condé uſed their intreaty and influence; the time was conſumed, the day advanced, and the duke of Anjou's army appeared. The admiral then no longer heſitated whether to try the fortune of the field with the enemy, or to expoſe his army, by an irregular and diſpiriting retreat before them; to which ſo great averſion had been diſcovered, both by the foreigners and by the French. The order of the battle was ſoon formed on both ſides; and, after a cannonade of ſome hours, the action commenced.

The diſcontent of his troops ſtill continuing,

he engages in the battle of Montcontour, Oct. 3, 1569.

THE adverſe armies were ranged in wide plains, without cover from wood or villages, and which were only at diſtances interſected by ſome eaſy declivities. The catholics, computed to exceed their adverſaries, whoſe army amounted to eighteen thouſand men, by a third of that number, were confident in their ſtrength, enlivened with the late prelude of ſucceſs, and prompted to a deciſive action by the hope of acquiring victory and more ſignal renown *.

* Thuan. ibid. p. 916.

When

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When Tavannes, on his return from viewing the admiral's diſpoſitions, reported, that he ſaw every thing favourable, and had even beheld a large party of the enemy retiring; his apparent alacrity was communicated to the ſoldiers, who received the tidings he brought of the departure of the princes from the field, as an earneſt of victory. The proteſtant troops galled, and exaſperated with their toils, and eager from the ſmart of them to confront their antagoniſts, appeared to truſt in their hardy and determined courage for an honourable and fortunate iſſue of the combat †. Compoſed to obedience and unanimity on the eve of battle, and touched with the pathetic admonitions of the young princes; the German Lanſquenets, according to their conſtant cuſtom, kneeled on the ground, and promiſed to fight and die like men of honour. Each of the armies was ranged into two great diviſions; but the general diſpoſition was ſuch, that the different bodies of which they were compoſed could all engage at the ſame time. The ſcene of action, even where it can be deſcribed, forms always a groſs and inaccurate figure without a plan. But upon this general idea of the arrangement of the oppoſite armies, the deſcription may be pronounced a vain and oſtentatious perplexity. It is obſerved, that the admiral's main battle, under the count Naſſau, was a little advanced towards Ervaux, before the left wing, which he commanded himſelf, and which ſtood more directly oppoſed to the enemy, as if he had ſtill aimed at cutting ſhort the combat by a retreat. To his uſual practice of interlining the ſquadrons of horſe with ſome foot Arquebuſiers, he added that of covering the flanks of the diviſions of the Rheiters, with a troop of French cavalry. The Germans, after their firſt rank had fired their long piſtols,

† D'Aubigne, ibid. chap. 17.

uſed

used the method of wheeling to the rear to charge them again, which exposed them to be more easily thrown into disorder by the enemy. The side-long line of French horse, who stood firm, and fought chiefly with their lances and swords, was a well designed remedy for this inconvenience. On both sides the troops equalled the bravery of their several commanders. After the first charge given by a part of the left wing of the catholics under the duke of Monpensier, by which la Mouy's horse were beat back on some of the infantry advanced before the admiral; the action on the left of both armies became general. The body of catholic Rheiters, led by the Rhingrave, pushed forward in the opening made, and endeavoured to break the line of foot. The admiral, who had sent to count Nassau for a squadron of Rheiters to oppose them, led on, in the mean time, some French Arquebusiers to the charge. The Rhingrave turned, and faced him, and both of them advancing near thirty paces before their troops, discharged, in the same instant, their pistols at each other. The admiral's jaw was torn by the Rhingrave's shot, while his own laid his adversary dead on the ground. The hurt he had received was concealed by the admiral, till being seen under a suffocation by the blood of his wound, he suffered himself to be led off. This accident did not hinder the repulse and defeat of the Rheiters, which was accomplished by Volrad count Mansfield, at the head of his Germans. That of near the whole catholic left wing followed it. In vain were the duke of Aumale, and the marquis of Boden, detached from the duke of Anjou's main body to sustain the combat on that side. The troops of both these generals were broke by Mansfield, and the latter of them was killed in the charge. As the count Nassau now advanced upon the duke of Anjou, the shock of the battle became furious

in which he encounters the German Rhinegrave, and is wounded;

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around that prince. His horſe was wounded, his ſquadrons began to give way, and the proteſtant troops repeated their exclamation of victory. But the efforts of their courage, now ſtrained beyond their numbers and ſtrength, required that ſupport, which the catholics ſtill had in a body of reſerve. It was the ſeaſonable advancement of the Swiſs by the marſhal de Coſſe which turned the ſcale of the combat. While three freſh regiments of the reſerve withſtood and repelled the thinned and drooping ſquadrons of the counts Naſſau and Volrad, they moved in cloſe files to aſſault their hated rivals the German Lanſquenets. Around their firm battalion rallied the broken Rheiters. By the laſt ſome gaps being made in the lines of thoſe forlorn infantry, the former ruſhed in like a torrent, and compleated their ruin. Here was the great carnage of the battle. Of four thouſand in their whole body, not four hundred were ſpared by the ſtern Swiſs, who continued to ſlaughter them when they had thrown down their arms. A like fate would have befallen a body of French foot that ſtood their ground beſide the Lanſquenets; but when ſome hundreds of them were ſlain, the duke of Anjou cried out, "Save the French." Before this cataſtrophe, ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts had been made by the chief commanders of the proteſtants to re-animate their ſhattered troops, and renew the fight; but they were forced to provide for their own ſafety. While the tumultuary fugitives took the ſpeedieſt way to gain Parthenai and Niot, count Naſſau having put himſelf at the head of a great body of the Rheiters, which ſoon increaſed to the number of three thouſand, was enabled to face and repulſe the purſuit of the enemy, and make a regular retreat to Ervaux, where he croſſed the river Thoue. The admiral's prudence, in ſecuring, by ſome detachments before the battle, the paſſes of the defiles on that road, proved the ſafety of a conſiderable part of the routed army.

and the proteſtant army vanquiſhed with great ſlaughter.

army. This was the only battle of the four they had now fought in which the proteſtants could be ſaid to have been compleatly vanquiſhed. By a moderate computation, near ſix thouſand of their ſoldiers were ſlain in the field, beſides the havock made among the ſuttlers and rabble of the camp, who were in arms. The whole baggage-waggons of the Germans, which were numerous, the artillery, and almoſt all the enſigns of the infantry, fell into the hands of the victors. In this action it alſo firſt happened, that the Germans performed more, and ſuffered more than the French. A great number of their gentry had joined the eſcort of the young princes. La Noue, as was his uſual fortune, and d'Acier, were among the priſoners. The one was hardly reſcued from ſlaughter in cold blood; and Sancta Fiore was blamed by the pope for taking the other alive. Above five hundred of the catholic cavalry, and ſeveral officers of eminent rank, were ſlain; but the purchaſe of victory was made with ſmall loſs of their infantry.

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The victory of Montcontour was great, and the eſtimate of it by the court was ſtill more highly rated. That a ſon of France, by this ſecond overthrow, had effectuated the entire demolition of the Calviniſts, was the flattering preſumption of the zealous party, the turn given to the eulogies of the duke of Anjou, and the import of the advices ſent to foreign courts. It appeared, indeed, from the reduced condition of the proteſtants, that their fortune run to extremity. From the inſupportable calamities of ſucceſsleſs war, deſpondent, intractable by their commanders, mutinous and ready to diſband before the battle, the French nobility and ſoldiers, as well as the foreigners, ſeemed prepared by ſuch a defeat in the field for total deſertion, or yielding themſelves up

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The consequences of the defeat at Montcontour,

to the will of the conquerors *. It is ſaid that in the council held at Niort, overwhelmed by the preſent diſaſter, ſeveral of the chiefs propoſed ſubmiſſion to the king on any tolerable terms that might be offered them. Such reſolution of deſpair, perhaps, and ſuch a pitiful iſſue of all the bloody conteſts the party had endured, might in this diſtreſsful conjuncture have enſued, if the vigour of the admiral's ſpirit had not been invincible by misfortunes. Characterized as much as any hero ever was, by the collection of new fortitude in adverſity, and capable, from the reſources of his ſagacity and firmneſs, of diſſipating the cloud of difficulties ariſing in it; he ſeemed reſerved from the hazard he run in the battle, to re-animate his party to freſh oppoſition, and to affront the unpolitical arret of high treaſon the † court had lately publiſhed againſt him, with an offer of fifty thouſand crowns to any that ſhould produce him dead or alive. A glance of reflection ſufficed to diſcover to him the diverſion that might be given to the victorious forces of the catholics, and the repairs of which the declining fortune of his party was ſuſceptible. Having, to this purpoſe, ſuggeſted various encouraging arguments to the chieftains, all of them acquieſced in his opinion; and diſpatches were immediately ſent off to England, to the proteſtant princes of Germany, and the Swiſs Cantons, with a repreſentation of the incident of the battle, that leſſened the idea of the diſaſter of the proteſtants, and at the ſame time implied their want of aſſiſtance in their preſent circumſtances. It was determined that the towns and garriſons they held in Poictou ſhould be abandoned; while ſuch a ſhew of reſiſtance was ſtill made by them, as might ſerve to divide the counſels and operations of the catholics. To ſtop the duke of Anjou in the immediate proſecution of his victory,

which might have been extremely fatal to the proteſtants,

* D'Avila, ibid. D'Aubigne, chap. 18. † Thuan. ibid.

it was agreed, that when they quitted Niort, the defence of it ſhould be committed to La Mouy, whoſe valour they knew would be exerted in maintaining this poſt with obſtinacy ſuitable to the occaſion. In Xaintonge, the towns they propoſed chiefly to ſupport, by reinforcements that could be furniſhed, were thoſe of Angoulême and St. Jean d'Angeli; the one being important as a frontier to the province, and the other, from its adjacency to Rochelle. Towards this laſt place, now become their citadel of war, as Orleans formerly had been, and which afforded a ſtronger refuge than any inland city, the chief commanders, conducting the young princes along with the remains of the army, directed their courſe. Thoſe general reſolutions formed the day after the battle, and communicated to the ſeveral commanders, who were to act in conformity with them, tended to abate the conſternation and perplexity attending the firſt ſhock of the defeat; and by diſcovering the concert and unſhaken ſpirit of the chieftains, encouraged their intimidated partizans to an imitation of it. It appears * that the admiral, at this critical deliberation, beſides inſiſting on the aſſurances he had of foreign auxiliaries, preſented the view and hope of domeſtic ſupport, beyond what might be found in the combination of the proteſtants, from the propenſity of the marſhal d'Amville to favour them in oppoſition to the faction that ruled the court. This was not a vague inſinuation, nor yet a matter of certainty, but a probable judgment which Coligni formed with reſpect to the political ſituation of that nobleman, who had hitherto copied the behaviour of the conſtable his father, and ſhewed himſelf firmly attached to the catholic intereſt. From juſt diſcernment and penetration, it was viſible to him that d'Amville, notwithſtand-

are, in a conſiderable degree, obviated by the admiral's invincible fortitude.

* D'Avila, ibid.

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ing the difference of his character from that of his brother the marſhal Montmorency, would gradually aſſume the ſame principles, and detach himſelf from the fetters of the court ſyſtem, and the career of the violent party, in that manner his appearance afterwards remarkably teſtified.

After reducing various garriſons,

The duke of Anjou having advanced with his victorious army in the tract of the diſſipated troops of the proteſtants, found Parthenay deſerted, and no appearance of oppoſition made till he came to Niort. Even on the right and left of his march, terror ſwept off the garriſons of Fontenay, la Coue, and other ſmall places, while thoſe of more conſiderable ſtrength in the lower Poictou trembled for their fate †. In vain did la Mouy prepare, at Niort, to ſet the example of a ſpirited reſiſtance, and ſhew what valour may ſometimes perform when urged to a ſignal trial. In his return from the firſt ſally he made to rouſe the courage of his ſoldiers, by bringing them to a cloſe encounter with the advanced parties of the catholics, he was ſeverely wounded; not in the chance of battle, nor by the hand of the enemy, but by that of a baſe aſſaſſin, Louvriers Maurevel, who watched his opportunity, and ſhot him in the reins with a piſtol, and eſcaped on a horſe which Mouy had given him, to the duke of Anjou's camp. This clandeſtine blow had been deſigned for the admiral; but the wretch who undertook it having failed of his aim, endeavoured to make ſome amends for his diſappointment, by transferring it to la Mouy, reckoned to be next to Coligni in authority and intereſt among the proteſtants. It cauſed the abandoning of Niort, and the death of that intrepid chieftain, in a ſhort time after at Rochelle, whither he had retired

and taking Niort, where la Mouy is aſſaſſinated,

† Thuan. lib. xliv. p. 917. D'Aubigne, ibid.

for

for his cure. Aggravated with the circumſtances of perfidious villainy and ingratitude, the infamous deed expoſed and diſgraced the public bribery and ſanction given to ſuch attempts by the parliament's arret againſt the admiral, the count of Montgomery, and the Vidame of Chartres. Maurevel, deteſted by all men of honour, was juſtifiable on the principles of that decree. The family of Guiſe, who promoted it, and whoſe creature Maurevel was, owned the motive of private vengeance againſt the admiral. It will appear afterwards, that the cabinet policy of the court quadrated with the indulgence of this revenge; and that Maurevel was introduced to perform his part in the firſt ſcene of St. Bartholomew. The queen mother, long detained from the ſociety of the duke of Anjou, now followed him with the court to Niort. Whether to purſue the vanquiſhed enemy thro' their rallying places, and totally demoliſh the remaining part of their troops, that might yet keep the field, or to undertake the reduction of thoſe few fortified towns which they poſſeſſed in Xaintonge, became here the grand ſubject of debate in the council of war. The chief commanders took different ſides of this queſtion; the parallel of which has often caſt up, and as often appeared problematical, and divided the judgments of the ableſt proficients in the military art. At this period, the predominant maxim was, to leave no garriſon behind belonging to the enemy, and it was judged proper to adhere to it on this occaſion. The reſolution of beſieging St. Jean d'Angeli was therefore taken. To render the garriſon more ſubmiſſive, and to encourage the ſoldiers of the royal army, the king made his appearance in the camp *. How reluctantly he bore reſtraint, from commanding perſonally in the field, and with what invidious ſenſibility he ſaw the duke of Anjou

the duke of Anjou reſolves to beſiege St. Jean d'Angeli;

November.

* Brantome de Charles IX.

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carry off the palm of victory and military renown, was diſcovered both by his forward action, and the expreſſions that fell from him at the ſiege. He would not be hindered from ſhewing himſelf in the trenches, and partaking of the labour and danger of the common ſoldiers. "With all my heart would I agree, ſaid he, that my brother and I ſhould reign by turns, and that he wore the crown for ſix months of the year, while I took the command of the army." This temper became afterward more predominant and characteriſtical with him. The catholic army here met with that daring reception and defence, which, from la Mouy's misfortune, had been evaded at Niort. The town, the fortifications, and the garriſon, were of moderate ſtrength *. But the reſolution of the inhabitants, who were Calviniſts, the preſence of ſeveral valiant officers, and Piles, in the place of chief commander, ſupplied the want of numbers and other defects. Breaches frequently made in the ramparts did not avail the beſiegers. Intrenchments, at which men and women laboured, roſe continually to baffle the aſſault. By the conſumption of blood and toil, the one party was weakened and the other wearied. An honourable capitulation was propoſed; but Piles would hearken to no terms, till ſome aſſurances were given that a general treaty was on foot. That he might have an opportunity to know the reſolution of the princes with reſpect to peace or ſuccours, a truce for ten days was agreed upon. In the night of its expiration, forty ſoldiers were introduced into the town, and Piles anſwered to the demand of ſurrendering according to the conditions, that he was reinforced. The bloody toil and fury of the aſſaults and defence recommenced afreſh. More than ſix weeks had elapſed while the beſieged ſtill reſiſted, amidſt

which, bravely defended by Piles,

* D'Aubigne, liv. v. chap. 19.

the

the ruins, and the catholics felt ſeverely what their victory at laſt would coſt them, by the fall of Martigues with a ſhot, and the carnage of many of their beſt ſoldiers. When Piles and valour could do no more, of a garriſon which conſiſted of near two thouſand men, nine hundred marched out with their arms, colours and baggage. By the conditions, they were bound not to appear in arms for four months; but the catholic ſoldiers, in ſpite of their officers, having plundered their equipage, Piles, when eſcorted to Angouleme, declared himſelf acquitted of the capitulation, and ſoon marched to join the princes. The ſiege protracted to December, occaſioned diſeaſes and epidemical ſickneſs to ravage the catholic army. When the town was reduced, the duke of Anjou found his loſs amounted to full ſix thouſand men. Upon this miſchance, thoſe who had oppoſed the reſolution for the ſiege, or who judged only by the event, pronounced the ſame cenſure that was paſſed on the admiral Coligni's conduct, when he led his army to the tedious and deſtructive ſiege of Poictiers. In proportion to the power of the two parties, the conſequence of both thoſe ſieges was ſimilar to each of them. Not only the ſeaſon of the year, but the weak ſtate of his troops, diſabled the duke of Anjou from undertaking any other enterprize *. The Italians, and other foreigners, having now compleated the term of their ſervice, and orders for their return being arrived, the catholic army broke up, and the duke of Anjou, who felt ſome attacks of indiſpoſition, retired with the court to Angers.

coſts, in the reduction, the loſs of ſo many men,

December.

that the catholic army breaks up the campaign.

* D'Avila, ibid.

CHAP. V.

Rambling combats in the provinces—Paſſage of the Garonne attempted by the admiral—Propoſals of peace—Fortitude of the proteſtants in extremities—Surpriſing expedition of the admiral in the midſt of winter—Combat of Arnay-le-Duc—Termination of the third civil war by the peace of St. Germain en Laye—Marriage of the king to Elizabeth of Auſtria.

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THE defeat of Montcontour ſeparated the proteſtant troops, which were in the field and in the adjacent garriſons of of Poictou, into three main partitions, which found their way into as many different quarters of the kingdom. Towards Rochelle and Xaintes, the admiral and the chief commanders had conducted the retreat of the bulk of their remaining forces. From the towns and garriſons of Chaſtelraut, Luſignan and Chauvigni, and their dependent forts, which hardly waited a ſummons to ſurrender*; the retiring parties formed a body, and endeavoured to gain the refuge of Sancerre and la Charite on the Loire. The commanders of the Provençals, Montbrun, Mirabel, and Verbelet, with four or five hundred horſemen, rallied at Angouleme, and determined to penetrate through Perigord into Auvergne and the Vivarez, in hopes of quartering in the faſtneſſes of thoſe countries, until they could find an opportunity to repaſs the Rhone. Some hard encounters attended the two laſt expeditions. But thoſe bands of adventurers, though expoſed to ſuffering and loſſes, contributed to revive and maintain the fuel of war in thoſe provinces where they cantoned. The counties of Berry and the Nivernois, bordering with la

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* Thuan. ibid. p. 918. D'Aubigne, ibid. chap. 20.

Charite,

1569.

Charite, became the ſcene of various enterprizes, which alarmed the garriſons and diſtracted the forces of the catholics. Guerchy and Briquemaut planned and directed ſeveral of thoſe attempts for ſurprizing the towns, and harraſſing the quarters of the enemy. The deſign on Bourges, which failed by the diſcovery of Briquemaut's correſpondence with ſome of the townſmen, was remarkable by the counterplot of the catholic governor, and the capture of ſeveral proteſtant officers, who were ſuffered to enter the ditch. By a contrary piece of fortune, the Provençals, in their retreat through the Cevennes, found the antient city of Niſmes lately taken, by a ſignal ſtratagem of the expelled proteſtants. Its aqueduct and canal, which, with other venerable monuments of Roman architecture, ſtill remained to accommodate and embelliſh the city, contributed to the fatal operation againſt it. A maſſy grate of iron ſhut the canal, where it paſſed under the rampart of the city*. A carpenter of Cauveſſon, named Adron, performed by his invention and daring aſſiduity, a feat, which the military conſpirators never thought of, and that in reſpect of danger equalled the moſt hardy of their undertakings. With the help of an accomplice, who, in a houſe near the canal, was truſted to advertiſe him, by pulling a cord faſtened around him, when he might with ſafety begin to file the bars; he eluded the obſervation of a centinel poſted directly over that place of the wall, where he plied his inſtrument. As he continued it mainly, during a ſhort departure the hourly ſentry made, to ring a bell for the change of the guards; before he compleated the diſſection of the bars, it coſt him to expoſe himſelf, in the muddy conduit, for fifteen winter nights, to cold, to vigilance, and to peril. When the party of the proteſtant ſoldiers was privately

endeavour to ſurprize ſeveral towns,

* D'Aubigne, ibid. chap. 21.

CHAP. V.

Rambling combats in the provinces—Paſſage of the Garonne attempted by the admiral—Propoſals of peace—Fortitude of the proteſtants in extremities—Surpriſing expedition of the admiral in the midſt of winter—Combat of Arnay-le-Duc—Termination of the third civil war by the peace of St. Germain en Laye—Marriage of the king to Elizabeth of Auſtria.

BOOK V. 1569.

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* D'Aubigne, ibid. chap. 21.

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assembled to attempt the narrow passage, unusual streams of light in the sky appalled their courage. Several began to turn their backs; when the minister, who had performed devotion, rouzed them, by calling out, "Courage! now God, by a clear testimony, shews us the way to assault our enemies." While, by such unconnected enterprizes, the war seemed thrown back to its primary rambling form; the admiral, as soon as the siege of St. Jean d'Angeli was begun, had marched with expedition from Xaintes into Querey, passed the Dardonne, and placed himself in a position proper to co-operate with the advancement of the count of Montgomery, from Bearn and the other side of the Garronne, to join him *. By the seizure of Aiguillon, at the confluence of the Lot with this last river, and the possession of Port St. Marie upon it, he not only defied and bridled the excursions of the enemy from the confines of Guienne and Languedoc; but having, by his previous march to Montauban, first obliged the marshal d'Amville to quit the siege of Mazeres, and to retire to Thoulouse, and then forced Montluc to shut himself up in Agen; he began, and in a short time executed the construction of a large bridge of boats, over the Garronne. It was secured by piles and chains, and rendered passable to cavalry. For fifteen days after it was finished, Montgomery, who had nothing to retard him, was expected. Enriched with the spoils of the catholics in Bearn, and loth to forsake their easy quarters, his troops, amounting to more than three thousand men, in good order, advanced at the slowest pace towards the Garronne. From delay, both the scheme of their passage by the bridge, and another design, which in connexion with it, the admiral had planned for the sudden invasion of Guienne, were discomfited.

and to maintain a rambling war in the provinces,

while the admiral attempts to pass the Garrone,

* Thuan. ibid. p. 925.

Monluc,

Monluc, who acknowledged that he was unprepared for such an attack, had the honour of baffling it by a contrivance, which, being suggested by an ordinary mechanic, he at first derided. Keen however of attempting what d'Amville failed of atchieving by some armed vessels, he tried the project. Several mills being dismantled of their furniture, the large wooden mass connected by ropes, was thrown into the Garronne. The impetuous current heaved the weighty floatage against the bridge of boats at St. Marie, and drove the wreck of it to St. Maquaire and Bourdeaux. After Montgomery appeared, so much time was lost in ferrying over his troops, that the admiral saw it necessary to drop his design on Guienne, and turn back towards Montauban, in order to penetrate through Languedoc. It is here that we may reckon the first stage of that tedious march of the protestants begins; which, exceeding in toil and hardships any former one, winds up the history of the third civil war. We shall presently assign the motive and the object of it. Since, immediately after the departure of the admiral, Monluc*, who advised the court to renew the war in Bearn, was commanded to march thither and attend it in person; the paragraph may be concluded with the incident relative to that chieftain, which stopt the progress of the expedition, and disabled him from appearing afterwards in the front of martial strife. He had begun with the siege of Rabastein in Bîgorre; and having beat the garrison from the town, proceeded to the assault of the castle, which, next to that of Navarrins, was reckoned the strongest in Bearn. At the age of seventy, violent and impetuous in all his motions, he could not endure to see a halt made by the soldiers opposite to the breach; but, as he advanced, calling to his officers

in order to join the count de Montgomery,

but is prevented by Monluc.

Dec. 11.

An unfortunate accident to this chieftain at the siege of Rabastein.

* Thuan. lib. xlv. p. 951.

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to follow him, a ſhot of a large Arquebuſe tore, in a miſerable ſhape, both his cheeks and his noſe. His death was expected; and he deſired, with bitter indignation, his attendants to revenge it on the garriſon, which was done. While he, diſcredited at the court which he had remarkably ſerved, and ſuperſeded in his lieutenancy immediately after this diſaſter, ſurvived in retirement for ſome years; his diſfigured face, covered with a maſk; the example and effigy of ſelf-ſufficiency mortified; of eminent talents, deformed by an iraſcible and carping temper; of ambition diſguſted with the tract it had choſe; and of choler, in an old warrior, converted into rancour and chagrin. In this ſituation he compoſed his commentaries. They bear the unfavourable ſtamp of it; and want that character of merit to recommend them to credit and approbation, in which the author himſelf was manifeſtly defective. Monluc in his dejection found, at laſt, a king, who rewarded him with a marſhal's baton. But an author, whoſe ſubject is narrow and perſonal, and whoſe polemical genius ſtill directs his pen to grate on the particular topics of his quarrels and controverſies, muſt rival the Philippicks of Cicero, or deſpair of being peruſed with ſatisfaction by the public.

His temper and chagrin, when he wrote his commentaries.

Some propoſals of peace being made by queen Catherine,

Queen Catherine, conſcious of the humiliating blow given to the proteſtants, had attempted in her manner to ſnatch the advantages of it, by * ſending ſome general overtures of peace to the queen of Navarre. Though they were meant only as experimental, and were anſwered in the proper ſtrain, the court judged it convenient to repeat declarations of the king's diſpoſition to peace at the ſiege of St. Jean d'Angeli, and other places, in hopes of inducing the garriſons to ſlack their reſiſtance. It is ſaid that

* Caſtelnau, liv. vii. chap. 10.

when

when a herald preſented the king's letter to Tors, who commanded Cognac, the old captain, after kiſſing it reſpectfully, and returning it, proteſted that he could neither read nor write, and that his followers, who had hearts and hands, were no better clerks than he. Propoſals for a treaty, however, were renewed, and de Biron and Teligni were commiſſioned to act as negotiators, while the war was urged and furiouſly maintained through ſeveral provinces. After ſo ample a narrative, compiled of the martial actions, the laſt ſcene of them might be arbuptly concluded, if it were not proper to finiſh a piece of hiſtory with ſome regard to the ſcale of proportion on which it has been begun and proſecuted; and neceſſary likewiſe to ſhew by what exertions of preſevering reſolution and valour, the vanquiſhed party recovered in a great meaſure from the overthrow they met with, and manifeſted a capacity and power of oppoſition, which ſtruck the victorious catholics with ſurprize, and induced the court to cut ſhort the endleſs ſtrife of arms by an accommodation with the proteſtants, who were thought compelled to ſue for mercy. It was not now the advancement of the freſh levies from Germany, nor the aſſurances of the aid of England by new remittances of money or auxiliary troops, which can be reckoned to have produced the effect. The former * reſource was hoped for, but more than ever it had been, the proſpect was precarious and uncertain. The latter, from the embarraſſment of the Engliſh queen at this time, could hardly be expected. Remitted to the proof of their courage, and the caſt of their fortune, and without foreign ſupport, the reduced army of the princes and the confederate parties of the proteſtants in various places, were rouzed to confront the imminent danger that threatened them,

the proteſtant chiefs judge the conjuncture too unfavourable for an agreement.

* D'Avila, ibid.

and

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and ſet the boldeſt example of fortitude, contending on the precipice of ruin, and obliging its adverſaries to give way.

Enduring the extremity of their fortune,

Tho' the main army of the catholics had ſmarted by the ſiege of St. Jean d'Angeli, and its ſubſequent reduction and retreat into winter quarters appeared to afford an opportunity to their adverſaries to ſtrengthen themſelves in their cantonments in the neighbourhood of Rochelle; yet the loſs of almoſt every other fort and garriſon in the lower Poictou, and the impreſſion already made in Xaintonge, encouraged the count de Lude, Puy-Guillard, la Riviere, and other catholic governors and commanders, to puſh vigorouſly the advantage gained over the proteſtants in that quarter*. By the combination of their forces, which conſiſted of draughts from various garriſons, and ſome collections of men from the diſbanded army; a blockade of Rochelle was attempted, and accompliſhed in ſome meaſure, by the diſlodging of Pluviaut from the poſt of Marans, encompaſſed with marches, and the ſeizure of Bruage on the Sea. At the ſame time, the baron de la Garde having ſailed from Marſeilles with ſome gallies, and joined Landereau on the coaſt of Poictou, all traffic from the port of Rochelle was obſtructed by them, and the greater part of the iſles adjacent to it were reduced. An epiſode of conſiderable length would hardly comprehend the particular actions by which the proteſtants extricated themſelves from this preſſure; and it is not eaſy to give a proper idea of their conduct by a general and curſory narrative. By de la Garde's retreat into the river Charente, before captain la Sore, who commanded the veſſels equipped by the Rochellers, a beginning was given to their ſucceſs in a train of enterprizes, which the tried valour of la Noue atchieved. The gallies at anchor in the

they make a vigorous reſiſtance in many places,

* D'Aubigne, liv. v. chap. 25.

ſtraits

ſtraits of the river were almoſt ſurprized by them; but, through the injudicious forwardneſs of the ſoldiers placed in ambuſh, one of them only was taken. It is obſerved that an Engliſh frigate of ſixty tun, by maintaining a running fight for ſome time with the gallies, in the view of Rochelle, contributed to render their dreaded equipment deſpicable. In proportion to the contraction of the ſcene of action, and the alternate induſtry or various ſtrength of the combatants, the attacks of the ſame places were often repeated; combats concerted, and fortuitous, were multiplied, and victory ſhifted from one ſide to another. By reducing the iſle of Marans, and, adding to the ſeizure of ſeveral towns and forts, the advantageous conqueſt of Olonne, which afforded a rich booty, la Noue could not decide the fate of thoſe places, or ſecure them from the re-invaſion of the enemy. The moſt of them ſoon ſurrendered again to the ſuperior forces of the catholics. But the action called the battle of Luçon proved a more finiſhing ſtroke. While la Noue marched to beſiege a fort lately erected to cover Luçon, and cut off the communication of Rochelle with that quarter of Poictou *; Puy-gaillard, fluſhed with his late advantages, and eagerly wiſhing for ſuch an opportunity to fall on the main body of the proteſtants, with his more numerous forces, had formed the ſcheme of advancing on them by ſurprize. His approach, however, being diſcovered, la Noue knew how to turn his miſtaken aim to his ruin. His little army compoſed of ſeveral old battalions, and the flower of various garriſons, amounting to full ſix thouſand men, being intercepted on its long march, was totally vanquiſhed with the ſlaughter of five hundred ſoldiers on the field, and the captivity of a greater number. It was this victory which paved the

and by an action at Luçon,

* Thuan. lib. xlv. p. 947.

way

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way to the ſubſequent re-eſtabliſhment of the dominion of the proteſtants in the pays d'Aunix, in Xaintonge, and the borders of Poictou; though the brave atchiever of it, in beſieging Fontenay ſoon after, received a ſhot in his arm, which, to prevent the effects of a gangrene, he ſuffered to be cut off. But the account of theſe enterprizes already ſtretches far into the hiſtory of the following year; and the latter part of them comes near the period of the ſuſpenſion of arms, and the concluſion of the terms of peace. The reaſon given by * de Thou for enlarging his deſcription of the battle of Luçon does honour to la Noue. He takes notice that this commander, remarkable no leſs for modeſty than courage, and who ſhews himſelf ſparing of juſt praiſe to none but himſelf, had altogether ſunk, in his commentaries, the exemplary figure of his valour and humanity on this occaſion. When the Lanſquenets, in revengeful memory of Montcontour, were putting all who fell in their way to the ſword, he obliged them to give quarter. When Luçon capitulated, and a complaint was made by the catholic commanders of ſome baggage being taken, contrary to the terms agreed on; out of his own finances he paid the eſtimate of the damage. Such behaviour was then as rare among the warriors, as reſerve, equal to that of la Noue, in the diſplay of their own actions, has proved uncommon in modern authors of memoirs.

la Noue re-eſtabliſhes their power in Xaintonge and other quarters.

When incapable of ſubſiſting the remaining body of his troops,

AMONG the various poſitions into which the adverſe chance of war has thrown a body military, perhaps there is none more ſingular than that in which the army of the princes, conducted by Coligni, now appeared. Different almoſt from every other expedition in the peculiarity of its circumſtances, and in its object; it bore

* Ibid.

the

the reſemblance both of a retreat, and of a continued provocation and aſſault of the enemy. The reſult of neceſſity, and at the ſame time the ſcheme eligible to determined and inſuperable valour, it joined the deſign of holding together the reſerve of the proteſtant army, and ſubſiſting it when in total want of pay, at the expence of the catholics, to that of diffuſing terror every where among them, till it was gradually carried nearer the center of the kingdom, by the advancement of the hardy troops to that part of France, where they would be at hand to receive, as formerly, the levies that might poſſibly be procured from Germany. If the admiral's purpoſe of throwing himſelf into Guienne, and ſurprizing Bourdeaux, had not been baffled in the manner already related, it is probable that he would have cantoned in this convenient quarter, with Bern at no great diſtance on the one ſide, and Xaintonge on the other. Here he would have found what he wanted, a country unwaſted by the war, and by its pillage, and the ranſom of the capital, capable of affording for a ſeaſon an equivalent to the Rheiters for their pay. But having failed of his aim, he undertook, in the midſt of winter, to ſweep the kingdom by a march from Montauban, through Languedoc, to the mouth of the Rhone, and from thence, by a reverſe courſe along the ſtretch of that river, and that of the Soane, to the entrance of Burgundy, and the head of the Seine; a military rout, comparable on the whole, for its difficulty, with the moſt ſignal paſſage in the celebrated hiſtory of the antient retreat of the Greeks, and which differed from it in this, that in the end of the toilſome progreſſion, an enemy ſuperior in number and in diſcipline, was met with and encountered in a pitched battle. In the commencement of the expedition, the army may be reckoned to have conſiſted of three thouſand Rheiters, eight hun-

the admiral leads them, in the midſt of winter, January.

upon a ſurprizing expedition;

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dred French cavalry, and about three thouſand foot, which with Montgomery's troops, might raiſe the whole to near nine thouſand men *. In their deſcent into Languedoc, and their approach to Thoulouſe, they were immediately expoſed to be attacked by the marſhal d'Amville, and de la Valette, afterwards the duke de Epernon, whoſe regular forces, together with the militia of the city, were not much inferior to them in number. But, though revenge of the deteſtable murder of Rapin, ſeized and judicially put to death in Thoulouſe, when he came authorized by the King to urge the publication of the laſt peace, inſtigated the proteſtants to lay waſte the country-ſeats and pleaſure-houſes of the burgers of parliament; the garriſon ventured not to repel the deſperate hoſtility, but beheld from the walls the conflagration, and read ſoon, in many black inſcription, on the ruined edifices, the *Juſt vengeance of Rapin*. D'Amville, who would have expoſed Thoulouſe by marching out to engage them, was unjuſtly accuſed of not performing his duty, from a bias to their ſide. His troops hung cloſe upon their rear all the way to the Rhone †, and la Noue declares, that in their whole march, they found no more vexatious enemy than the marſhal. They were every where more or leſs oppoſed and harraſſed by the catholics, who expected nothing from them but the ſame ravage and devaſtation which they had begun at Thoulouſe. It is ſuperfluous to purſue the deſcription of the compaſs of their march, or rehearſe the journal of their adventures. The groſs computation that is made, of more than fifty ſmall towns and garriſons taken and pillaged by them, and of as many more that were ranſomed, may give, without the meaſure-

exceeding any former one in hardſhip and toils;

* D'Aubigne, liv. v. chap. 22. Thuan. ibid. p. 942.

† D'Aubigne, ibid. chap. 23.

ment

ment of the map, or the catalogue of the places, a ſufficient conception of the nature and circumſtances of their ſtrange expedition. We leave undeſcribed the paſſage of the Rhone by a part of their army, for the ſake of the eaſier carriage of ſome cannon and ammunition, and the oppoſition of De Gordes to Montbrun's conſtruction and defence of a fort on that river, to take notice, that in the conſummation of their hardſhips, and the daily diminution of their troops, the admiral was ſeiſed with a dangerous ſickneſs. Lately proſcribed, and now ſince the propoſitions of peace, wrote to in a friendly ſtyle by the king and queen mother; the fate of the proteſtants with reſpect to the iſſue of the war, and the ſettlement of the treaty, appeared to depend on his life, which was in the utmoſt hazard. To the univerſal joy of the army, which felt in apprehenſion the irreparable loſs they would have ſuſtained, he got the better of his diſtemper; and the court, which believed him entangled in a train of inextricable difficulties, and totally diſabled from giving them annoyance, heard with aſtoniſhment and conſternation, that he had advanced with his troops toward the Forez, and was on the point of entering Burgundy. He thus gradually approached to la Charité, ſtill occupied by a proteſtant garriſon on the Loire *; but his army by diſaſters, deſertion, and diſeaſes, in a march of more than four hundred French leagues, during the courſe of eight months, with hardly a week's intermiſſion of fatigue, was worn out and reduced to half its former number. Recruited with ſome companies from Dauphiny and Geneva, and a party brought from la Charité by Briquemaut; it amounted not in foot and horſe to five thouſand men. Yet this ſmall number of combatants, under the conduct of bold and experienced commanders,

May 23.

and, though his troops were reduced to half their number,

* Thuan. ibid. p. 946.

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preſerved the honour of their party, and forced a peace to themſelves and to France, by ſtanding the attack of the marſhal de Coſſé at Arnay-le-Duc. The Swiſs, French, and German battalions of his army, are reckoned, at the leaſt, to thirteen thouſand, and he was furniſhed with twelve cannon. He had orders to fight, and the proteſtant chiefs determined not to fly him. As Henry IV. obſerved, when he ſpoke of this action, where he firſt eſſayed his valour; they had no retreat nearer than la Charité, at the diſtance of forty miles †. It ſhould not have been here obſerved, if father Daniel had not made the remark at ſome length, that d'Avila's reflexions on the appointment of the marſhal de Coſſé to the command of the catholic army, are incredibly profound. Becauſe he did not vanquiſh the admiral, the hiſtorian, declaring him to be a Calviniſt in his heart, intimates that the duke of Anjou, according to the opinion of many, in order to prolong the war, and the chief command of the army, might have conſpired to make the choice fall upon one of his character. But none of the French hiſtorians vouch this ſecret, or any other with reſpect to de Coſſé's failure in ſucceſs, but own it to be a maſter-piece of military ſkill and bravery, in the defence of a well choſen poſt, by his antagoniſts. According to Sully's ‡ memoirs, de Coſſé not only aſpired to the honour of terminating the war by a blow, but was intoxicated with the proſpect of the glory he thought himſelf ſure to acquire, by the conqueſt and final demolition of the Hugonots and their chiefs. But a trial of their fortitude in a combat, or ſeries of attacks, which laſted ſeven hours, and drew more blood on his ſide than he expected, ſoon abated his ardor and preſumption. The catholics, ſtill leſs capable to equal their expedition, than contend

he encounters the catholic army

June 23d.

commanded by the marſhal de Coſſé,

at Arnay-le-duc;

† Tom. v. p. 952.

‡ Liv. i. chap. i.

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and penetrates into the center of the kingdom.

with their valour, allowed the admiral to march forward with his army, and pitch his camp between la Charité, Sancerre, and Vezelac, three garriſons held by his confederates; which was the ſtation he ſought, for the repoſe of his troops, the re-armament of the diſſipated parties of the proteſtants, and the revival of the war in the heart of the kingdom.

His ſucceſs and magnanimous conduct,

NOTWITHSTANDING the correſpondence opened, and the interviews held for a treaty, the admiral apprehended that the court would not reſolve, in earneſt, to conclude on reaſonable terms *; until urged by the motive of a ſenſible and preſſing danger. His former experience was ſufficient to found this opinion, and the aſpect of the preſent negotiation juſtified it. De Biron, and de Meme maſter of requeſts, had come with the king's letters to the camp of the proteſtants in Languedoc, and Teligni, and Beauvais la Nocle, had paſſed and repaſſed to the court; while the preliminary article of the public exerciſe of the reformed religion was ſtill conteſted. On this account, a truce propoſed by the negotiators of the court, had been refuſed by the proteſtant chiefs. But when the admiral's troops began to make excurſions as far at Montarges, when the catholic army, that ſhould have demoliſhed them, was obliged to cover the country adjacent to Paris from their invaſion; a ſudden alteration took place, and a ſolicitous diſpoſition to peace on the part of the court appeared. The tranſition to concord, and the facility of the concluſion of the treaty in thoſe circumſtances, when compared with former examples, were not ſo remarkable as the tenor of the articles of agreement. It was obſerved, that the court, by the peace, had relinquiſhed ſuddenly its hopes, and its boaſt of ability to ſubdue the Hugonots by force; a view which

* Thuan. ibid. p. 945.

had

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having disposed the court to an accommodation;

had been more sanguinely entertained, and approached nearer to full assurance, in proportion to the greater apparent depression of that party. In other respects, it could not be thought surprizing that the administration, which had under various difficulties laboured through the two former wars, and been obliged to evade their pressure by treaties, should yield at length to a like necessity, and deliver the state and the kingdom from one, which had been more bloody and pernicious than any of them. On the other side, though the protestants shewed themselves superior to their disasters, and were even capable of effacing them more by continuing the war, it is manifest on the least reflexion, that all the strongest motives concurred to impel them to the desire and thirst of peace. There was among them no other exception to this wish, but the natural and just one that it ought to procure for them, what they had sought with so much hazard, the liberty of their religion, and the common rights of subjects and citizens. It is a stroke which suits d'Avila's portrait, but not the true character of the admiral; to represent him as giving way with reluctance, and aversion to the peace. Upon the authority of Brantome, of de Thou, and Matthieu, the * very reverse of this is true. As we shall soon have occasion more fully to observe, none of his party felt sincerer joy in the cessation of the civil war. That both sides then, upon obvious motives, might earnestly desire and chuse an accommodation, is plain. But it is a question, whether the court not only sought it with a perfidious aim, but on such an infamous plan of treachery and bloodshed, as, at no great distance of time, was discloſed. From the disposition and aptitude of queen Catherine, and her confidents, to tread once more in the mine of artifice, and from her

* Brant. de Coligni. Thuan. ibid. p. 952. Matthieu, hist. liv. vi.

ability

1570. the third civil war is ended by the peace of St. Germain en Laye.

ability to improve, by concurring circumſtances, on the compoſition and efficacy of her machinations, the hiſtorians generally ſuppoſe and allow, that, together with the determination for peace, the clandeſtine deſign to enſnare and deſtroy the admiral, and ſome of his principal adherents, was hatched and reſolved upon. The conceſſions made, and the terms granted by the treaty of St. Germain en Laye, in the month of Auguſt, though they could not be deemed extravagantly favourable to the proteſtants, ſhewed at leaſt an extraordinary pitch of indulgence from the court. The edict contained forty-ſix articles †. Beſides the public exerciſe of the proteſtant religion, without the reſtrictions of the edict of Rouſillon, and an amneſty conceived in the moſt ample terms, with a declaration of the nullity and repeal of all proſcriptions civil and criminal of the proteſtants during the war, and a recognition of their privilege of admiſſion into all employments and dignities civil and military; they were allowed, in proceſſes before the provincial parliaments, to except, without aſſigning a reaſon, againſt three judges or counſellors in each chamber. In the parliament of Bourdeaux they could object to four, and with reſpect to that of Thouloufe, on account of its moſt notorious bigotry and prejudice againſt the proteſtants, authority was granted them to decline its judgment, and to carry their cauſes to any other parliament, or to the court of requeſts in Paris. But what diſtinguiſhed this edict of pacification from every preceding one, was the aſſignment of the four cities of Rochelle, Cognac, Montauban, and la Charité, to the proteſtants, to be held by them, for their ſecurity and the fulfilment of the articles of peace, for two years. It was not only publiſhed by regiſtration in the courts of parliament, but its

Auguſt.

† Thuan. ibid. D'Aubigne, ibid. chap. 33.

punctual

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punctual obſervance and execution were to be ſworn to, by the lieutenants and preſidial magiſtrates of the provinces. Such was the concluſion of the third civil war, and the tenor of the peace obtained by the proteſtants in France; who having experienced, as Sully ſays ‡, ſeveral hard reverſes of fortune, yet through the wiſe conduct of their chiefs, and the auſpicious genius of Henry prince of Navarre, ſupported themſelves with reputation and honour till this period; at which, that inſtructive and valuable piece of hiſtory, his *memoirs* begin.

THE calm immediately ſucceeding the edict of peace in Auguſt, 1570, ſeemed like the natural and neceſſary repoſe of two oppoſite parties, wearied and exhauſted by the diſtreſſes of a tedious civil war. The terms of accommodation, though advantageous to the proteſtants, appeared to be granted by the voluntary determination of the court; and not forced, as formerly, by the dread of foreign arms. From the diſregard ſhewn to the harangues of the Spaniſh envoy, who with many liberal promiſes in his maſter's name, urged the continuance of the war; and the late negotiation of the king's marriage with Elizabeth of Auſtria, daughter to the emperor Maximilian, it was to be preſumed that the court now entertained larger views of public intereſt, and choſe to purſue the honour and eſtabliſhment of the royalty, by another courſe than that which excited and ſtrengthened the ſpirit of party, and ſtill produced a ſcene of war *. This match of the king of France with the German branch of the houſe of Auſtria, obſtructed for ſeveral years by the interpoſition of the catholic monarch, was now at laſt concluded. Philip, who was as jealous of his own

The marriage of Charles IX. with Elizabeth of Auſtria,

‡ Mem. liv. i.

* Thuan. lib. xlv. p. 936.

blood

1570.

blood and family, as of his ſubjects, by no means reliſhed this excentric union with the blood of France; and to make ſome amends for the ſiniſter alliance, he had choſe for his fourth ſpouſe, Ann the emperor's daughter, who was his niece †. With the nuptials of Charles, now advanced near his one-and-twentieth year, a new æra of public peace and ſettled tranquillity in government ſeemed to commence. Even foreign ſtates and princes conſidered the choice of the daughter of Maximilian for his conſort, as a happy preſage of the termination of the national broils about religion, by a conformity to the wiſe policy and pacific conduct of that prince. Among other congratulations the king received, one, preſented by the envoys of the princes of the Auſbourg confeſſion, lately met at the diet of Spires, was remarkable for turning chiefly on the propriety of the late edict of peace, and the benefit of religious-toleration. As, in the faſhion of that age, thoſe public harrangues were much more ſtudied and elaborate than they have been in later times, and generally comprehended a long and learned diſcuſſion of the matter in queſtion; it deſerves to be remarked, that the abſtract which de Thou gives of the arguments uſed by the proteſtant deputies on this occaſion, and ſome others he mentions, contains almoſt every thing we ſee moſt ſtriking in modern treatiſes, in vindication of the tolerating principle. The trial of its influence in every ſpecies of government being now made, the reaſoning in ſupport of it became more concluſive. Charles's anſwer was decent and not unfavourable to the point aimed at in the addreſs. He ſeemed both capable and determined to act with vigour, in maintaining the treaty, which he choſe to call his own peace. The attention he ſhewed to quell the ſmalleſt ſparks of

now taking place,

a favourable judgment of his honeſt intentions in the peace,

is formed by the proteſtants.

† Matthieu, Hiſt. de France, liv. v.

BOOK V. 1570.

turbulence, and the correſpondence he took care to hold with the proteſtant chiefs at Rochelle, about the ſtrict inforcement of the edict, afforded ſpecious evidences of the integrity and firmneſs of his intentions. But the view of the conduct of the court, which for the following ſpace of more than twenty months, took a ſignal appearance of uniform indulgence to the proteſtants, will be more properly collected in another book of the hiſtory; while the concluſion of this recapitulates the tranſactions of foreign ſtates for three years paſt; and for the ſake of comprehending, in this laſt ſummary of them in the preſent reign, ſome memorable paſſages, carries forward the general account of them for two years, beyond our preſent period.

CHAP. VI.

Foreign affairs—Of Spain and the Netherlands—Of Germany and the Ottoman empire—Of England and Scotland.

THE power of the Spaniſh monarchy, which under Philip II. became formidable to the reſt of Europe, was checked in its growth, by the maxims of government deviſed by the ambition and craft of that prince, for its eſtabliſhment. From a principle of policy, as well as of ſuperſtition, Philip in all important affairs, adviſed with the inquiſition at Madrid. He choſe to have the veil of its authority, to ſhroud and ſanctify his political purpoſes and actions. It may be perhaps juſtly affirmed, that by the inceſſant movement of this ſpiritual machine, which he thought to render ſubſervient to his will, he was carried to ſeveral ſtretches of arbitrary rule, farther than he meant to proceed. Where the policy of the ſtate is made to lean too much on the ſuperſtitions of the church, this will inevitably happen. The inquiſition attempted to be ſet up, and revolted againſt in the Netherlands, created thoſe diſturbances recited in a former paſſage. A ſtrain of the ſame policy alſo contributed to excite about this time an inſurrection of the Moors in Spain *. The remnant of the old Saracen race, which in the beginning of the eighth century invaded and conquered that kingdom, the breed of motley converts to the chriſtian faith which conqueſt and terror had made in the reign of Ferdinand and Iſabella, thoſe people who poſſeſſed a part of Granada, the laſt ſeat of their ſovereignty in Spain, remained ſtill inobſequious and averſe to the authority and rule of the Spaniards.

Book V.

Foreign affairs.

Hiſtory of thoſe of Spain and the Netherlands.

* Matthieu, Hiſt. de Henry IV. liv. i. p. 100. Thuan. lib. 46. p. 955.

Book V. An order publiſhed with the approbation of the king, after the council of Trent, for aboliſhing ſome Mahometan rites and cuſtoms which prevailed among them, provoked their indignation at length, and produced a remarkable conſpiracy among them for throwing
1564. off the yoke. It coſt a two years war, in which four Spaniſh generals were employed to reduce them to obedience. The enthuſiaſtic fondneſs with which thoſe Moors flew back to their antient uſages, their creation of one king, and then of another, of their own tribe, and their abſolute ſubmiſſion to them, together with the regular conduct and wild obſtinacy of their oppoſition, might deſerve a rehearſal, if inſtances of this kind were not frequent in hiſtory. But the domeſtic ſcene which paſſed in Philip's court, was ſuch a one, as had rarely been known, or read in the later annals of chriſtian princes. This was the impriſonment and violent death of his only ſon and heir Charles prince of Spain *. Naturally indignant, and intractable in his temper, a harſh check and diſappointment was given him by his father, who made Elizabeth of France, the bride that had been promiſed him, his mother-in-law. He complained, and Philip became jealous. By the unamicable uſage of him by his father which followed upon this, and the diſpoſition of the chief courtiers to treat him with the ſame diſregard, rendered more precipitant; he heard and eſpouſed the complaints which the Flemiſh lords made about the violent meaſures of the Spaniſh government of their country. He was watched and ſurrounded with ſpies, who pretended a diſcovery of his intention to elope into Flanders or Germany. It was then determined, by Philip's cabinet-council, that he ſhould be made a priſoner. But to undertake to arreſt the prince and heir of the

* Addit. aux Caſtel. liv. vi. Thuan. lib. xli. p. 853. Strada, liv. vii.

crown,

crown, was an act of power, dangerous and terrifying to the miniſters. It was known that he had provided ſecret arms in his apartment. Philip having got paſs-keys, entered his chamber at midnight. Awaked from profound ſleep, he ſaw his father draw near his bed with a naked ſword. His princely attire and equipage being taken away by the king's attendants, he was dreſſed in the habit of a criminal, and taken into cuſtody by Gomez de Silva. From apprehenſion, the miniſters inſtigated Philip to finiſh the ſcene, by ordering his proceſs *. The inquiſitors pronounced ſentence againſt him; and he was in a ſhort time diſpatched by poiſon. Whether Elizabeth's death was procured in the ſame manner, as ſeveral other French hiſtorians affirm, may be reckoned doubtful. It is ſaid that the depoſitions of her domeſtics who returned to France, vouched the tragical report of her having fallen a ſacrifice to her huſband's jealouſy. Certain it is that ſhe ſurvived the prince of Spain but a few months, and had expreſſed a tender concern for his fate. She expired in child-bed, together with her offspring. The former impreſſion of Philip's auſtere character, was heightened by this event. His vengeance as a maſter was doubly dreaded by his ſubjects; when they learnt the dire and unrelenting exceſs of his ſeverity as a father. In the Netherlands eſpecially, over which the iron rod was already ſtretched, the people trembled with apprehenſions. But it may appear a ſoleciſm in policy, that Philip ſtill thought to juſtify his rigid procedure, upon the authority of that ghoſtly judicature, which was ſo hateful to the Lowlanders. The decree of the inquiſitors was publiſhed, to uſher in the eſtabliſhment of the council of blood, as it was properly called; from which no appeal lay, and where no extenuations of alledged guilt availed

Charles prince of Spain deſtroyed by poiſon.

* Matthieu, ibid. p. 124.

to

BOOK V.

to ſoften the accuſations, or mitigate the ſentences of the pannels for hereſy and rebellion. It was indeed a military execution, with ſcaffolds duly erected in the market-place of Bruxelles, at which Alva preſided. The ducheſs of Parma withdrew from the Netherlands on the firſt ſight of this ſcene; and Caſtelnau, who had come from the French court to compliment Alva on his arrival, when he ſaw the counts Egmont and Horn led forth to ſuffer, is ſaid to have wrote home, that the Spaniſh governor, after many executions, had ſtruck off the head of him, whoſe valour had made France to tremble once and again. The military reputation acquired by the firſt of theſe noblemen in the battles of St. Quintin and Graveline, here pointed out, was only a part of his ſignal merit. Univerſally eſteemed and beloved, he was worthy, as a man and a citizen, of the diſtinguiſhing favour and affection of his countrymen. At the public ſpectacle of his fate, the people diſcovered thoſe extacies which ariſe from ſorrow deeply felt, and reſentment reſtrained by preſent terror. They dipt handkerchiefs in his blood, and kept them as tokens of love, and incitements to revenge. Some proſtrated themſelves at his coffin, and regardleſs of danger, vowed deſtruction to his murderers. Count Horn could not have ſuffered without exciting the public diſguſt; but the violent death of count Egmont inflamed it.

The counts Egmont and Horn put to death in Holland by Alva.

FROM regard to policy and the uncertain contingencies of war, chieftains the moſt redoubtable and confident in their military might, have generally reprieved the particular victims of their vengeance, and poſtponed the carnage of the ſcaffolds and the gibbets, until the work of war was compleatly performed in the field. But the duke of Alva, diſdaining to be confined to ordinary rules, introduced his execution of the Flemiſh nobles, when count Aremberg was

was defeated in Friezeland, by Lewis of Naſſau; and the prince of Orange himſelf was ready to march from Germany, with a large army to invade Brabant. Reſolved at once to rid himſelf of theſe he accounted ſecret foes, and to ſtrike terror among ſuch as might join the open revolt; he ſoon ſhewed that his martial genius was ſufficient to diſcomfit, as well as to diſdain, the warlike oppoſition of his enemies. His march into Friezeland with twelve thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, and his attack of Lewis of Naſſau, whoſe army, little inferior in number, was poſted advantageouſly between the bay of Dullart and the river Eems, was the firſt ſignal operation of his military proweſs *. The ſituation of the enemy not only rendered their camp apparently impregnable, but from the canals and marſhes that obſtructed the acceſs to it, an inundation might have been turned upon the ground occupied by the duke of Alva's troops. To the valour of thoſe veteran bands, led on by experienced captains, nothing was inſuperable. The raw German ſoldiers who ſaw them with aſtoniſhment, advance up to the middle in the mud and water, in the front of their cannon, could not reſiſt their charge. The rout and havock made by the Spaniards, in this battle of Gemingen, was hardly credible. No fewer than ſeven thouſand are ſaid to have been ſlain in the field and in the purſuit; with ſo trifling a loſs to the victors, as had ſeldom or never happened in any other general engagement. The duke of Alva now marched to oppoſe his chief antagoniſt the prince of Orange. The numerous forces raiſed by him in the empire, the general prejudice he excited among the German princes againſt the tyrannical conduct of Alva, his engaging even the emperor Maximilian to favour his cauſe, as conſiſtent both

Battle of Gemingen.

* Thuan. lib. xli. p. 861.

with

Book V. with the intereſt of the Auſtrian family, and the more general plan of the imperial policy, afforded a demonſtration of the ſurprizing genius and abilities of that man; whoſe eſcape, as cardinal Granvelle ſaid, rendered all the prey the Spaniſh general had caught of little conſequence. His paſſage of the Meuſe, which made the duke of Alva aſk, when he firſt heard it, if his army were birds and had flown over, the taking of Centron in the territory of Liege, and other efforts to eſtabliſh himſelf in Brabant, ſhewed that his military talents were not inferior to his enterpriſing ſpirit. But he found it was leſs difficult to raiſe an army, than to maintain it, and more eaſy to conduct it againſt the enemy, than to learn raw mercenaries proper diſcipline and obedience. In a mutiny which happened, ſome officers were killed, and a ſhot of a muſquet ſtruck off the hilt of his ſword. The duke of Alva, having all advantages againſt him; the beſt diſciplined troops regularly paid, and the fortified towns under the command or awe of his garriſons, like an experienced warrior, who knows his enemy's weak ſide, and how to manage his own ſtrength, by declining a general combat, gained his aim; and obliged the prince of Orange to withdraw into Hainault. He was here joined by the French under Genlis; but the ſtraits he was in with reſpect to the pay and ſubſiſting of his army increaſed. The tumults of his ſoldiers were renewed; which Gaſpar Schomberg, ſent from the French court, knew how to inflame; while, at the ſame time, he ſoothed the prince of Orange with promiſes of money, to diſcharge his contract with the Germans. To preſerve his faith and intereſt with them, mutinous as they had been, and reſolute on diſbanding, he immediately ſold all his equipage and moveables for money; and not only made a preſent diſtribution of it to the officers, but gave them ſecurity on his eſtates for the payment of their arrears.

The prince of Orange obliged to diſband his army, May, 1569.

It was at this period that he joined the duke of Deux Ponts army in its march into France.

As a military champion in the field, Alva diſplayed in his campaigns the beſt pattern of warlike diſcipline and conduct. Oppoſition vaniſhed before him, and the malcontents in the Netherlands ſunk under the martial terror of his name*. He detracted from his reputation, he undermined his own labours, and revived the proſtrated ſtrength of his opponents, by his vain glory, by rigid exactions from a mercantile people, and by the hateful yoke of religious perſecution. His ſtatue caſt in the braſs of the cannon taken at Gemingen, dreſſed in complete armour was reared in the citadel of Antwerp. Two emblematic figures with various burleſque devices, repreſenting the Belgic lords and commons, were trod under the feet of this monument, and an arrogant inſcription, diſguſtful even to the Spaniſh courtiers and Philip himſelf, blazed on the pedeſtal. While he entered into a controverſy with the queen of England, and embroiled the commercial affairs of the Low Countries; the tax he demanded, of the tenth of moveable commodities, the twentieth of heritable, and hundredth of both, raiſed the flame of new diſcontent and confuſion. In Bruxelles the ſhops were ſhut in the day time, and the tradeſmen diſcontinued their employments. Obedience from the citizens was to be commanded in every thing by a military power. The expelled Gueux, who had betaken themſelves to the woods or highways, or turned freebooters on the ſea, hovered about the cities and coaſt-towns, ready to join in any inſurrection or revolt. A party of the latter under the command of the baron de Lumé,

Alva's pride as a conqueror, and his exactions on the people.

* D'Aubigne, liv. v. chap. 32. Strada, lib. vii.

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having landed in Zealand, made themſelves maſters of the port and town of the Brill. Animated by this bold and fortunate enterprize, almoſt the whole cities of Holland, except Amſterdam, emulated one another in diſcovering their indignation at the taxes, pecuniary impoſitions, and outrageous government of the duke of Alva, and hurried into open defection. Under Lume's conduct, the confederacies of the revolting towns in the maritime provinces were formed, and knit together by bonds of aſſociation, and ſolemn oaths to accept the protection of the prince of Orange againſt the Spaniards. Fluſhing, from its ſituation, the great receptacle of the mariners from all quarters, ſoon preſented a formidable armament by ſea. To the duke of Alva's ſurprize, the countries and cities, which he treated as conquered by his power, were quickly overſpread by a tempeſt of war; and the people of Holland recurring to the proper element of their ſtrength, appeared capable of maintaining a hardy conteſt for their religious and civil liberties. It was near two years after the peace of the proteſtants in France, that this revolution in the ſtate of the Low Countries took place. The prince of Orange, from the time he quitted that kingdom in diſguiſe after the ſiege of Poictiers, had employed his ſolicitation and intereſt in negotiating with the German princes, for a new levy of troops. Beholding the opportunity which he waited for, caſt up, he moved towards the Rhine, with an army of thirteen thouſand foot and ſeven thouſand horſe. Lume invaded the towns on the coaſt. Count Bergen, the prince of Orange's kinſman, reinforced the inſurrections in Overyſſel and Friezeland; and Lewis of Naſſau, aſſiſted by the chiefs of the party he had followed in France, endeavoured to make a conſiderable diverſion on the ſide of Flanders. By a ſtratagem and the ſudden appearance of Genlis with his French party at its gates, Mons the chief city

Revolt of the cities of Holland, upon the Brill being taken.

1571.

city of Hainault, ſurrendered to Lewis. The artificial conduct of the French court at this time, which will be explained in the following book, rendered the duke of Alva more apprehenſive of the conſequences of this loſs. He turned with his army towards that quarter. Mons inveſted, and the ſiege continued without interruption, while the prince of Orange laboured in vain to bring him to a battle, or aſſault his entrenchments, afforded a manifeſt proof of Alva's ſuperior ſkill in all military operations. By his battles and ſieges in the Netherlands, the ſchool of war in Europe was firſt transferred from Italy into that country, where, for a century and a half after, it may be reckoned to have remained. It is remarkable that the Spaniards, who were thus the firſt maſters of it, preſerved their ſuperlative reputation in arms till the minority of Lewis XIV. Under the diſcipline of Don John of Auſtria, and the prince of Parma, the Spaniſh infantry which Alva trained became invincible in the field. Their matchleſs pre-eminence appeared even in the combats with Henry IV. and, as a modern French author obſerves *, the battle of Rocroi, which was the primary eſſay of the genius of Lewis of Bourbon, called the Great Condé, may be eſtimated the moſt notable date of the declenſion of their comparative fame. By the duke of Alva's management in the Low Countries, it appeared how a general might conquer, and yet cauſe the loſs of provinces. Philip, ſenſible that he overacted his part, in a ſhort time appointed Lewis Requeſcenes commandator of Caſtile, and the governor of Milan, to ſucceed Alva, who † boaſted to have put to death eighteen thouſand men, by the hangman and the halter. But the rage of diſaffection and enmity to the Spaniards now became incapable of

* Siecle de Lewis XIV. chap. 2.

† Matthieu de Henry IV. p. 105.

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abatement by any change of meaſures. The Belgic provinces were on the hinge of a political revolution, which the power of the greateſt ſovereign in Europe only retarded, but proved inſufficient to prevent.

Affairs of Germany.

The empire which furniſhed ſoldiers to foreign countries, and nouriſhed the French and Belgic wars, remained in tranquillity. Its diets, frequently held by a pacific emperor, calmed and ſuppreſt particular diſputes among the electors of princes. The liberty of exhibiting in the conventions of the princes, a confeſſion that varied in ſome articles from that of Auxbourg, being introduced; the Calviniſts comforted themſelves, as being put on ſome footing of equality with the Lutherans. The Germanic body, that from the independency of its conſtituents, ſeemed liable to be totally convulſed by the eruption of the religious ſectaries, was thus ſeen to avoid altogether the violence of the ſhock, by yielding to the tide of religious liberty. Diſpoſed by inclination and intereſt to preſerve this internal quiet of the empire, Maximilian endeavoured to ſuſpend the tumult and deſtructive rage of religious war in neighbouring kingdoms *. That waged in Flanders being the moſt offenſive to him, he had commiſſioned his brother the archduke Charles to make remonſtrances to the catholic king with reſpect to its pernicious tendency. Intent on the eſtabliſhment of a general peace, and the aggrandizement of his family by alliances, and the marriage of his two daughters, he unwillingly heard the frequent monitories of Pius V. for a league of the chriſtian princes againſt the Turkiſh Sultan. The warlike preparations made by Selim ſome months before the peace in France, preceded by a quar-

* Thuan. lib. xli. p. 862.

rel

Confederacy of the chriſtian princes for war with the Turkiſh emperor.

rel with the Republic of Venice, at length concurred with the pontifical call for elevating the chriſtian ſtandard, in oppoſition to the formidable banners of the infidels. It was, however, a naval armament which Selim had equipped, and Cyprus, poſſeſſed by the Venetians, was found to be the object of it. His motives to this expedition, as moſt of the hiſtorians have recited them, have that inſignicant and frivolous turn given them, which we find generally aſſigned to the moſt important reſolutions of the Ottoman Porte. Inſtead of ſuppoſing that Selim needed a renegade Jew, and a buffoon from Liſbon, to inſtigate him to this enterprize, or that he longed to be maſter of the rich wines of Cyprus, we may take it for granted, that in imitation of his father Solyman, his aim and ambition was to extend his dominion over the Mediterranean Sea. The confederacy of the chriſtian powers was not formed with that fervid ſpirit, which run among them like contagion in the time of the Cruſades.*. It was rather diſputed who ſhould bear the leaſt ſhare of the war. Maximilian, on account of his late treaty with Selim, and the French king excuſed themſelves from entering into the league; and, before the pope, the Venetians and the king of Spain, together with Savoy, the Genoeſe, and the knights of Malta, could adjuſt the plan of their conjunction, and furniſh their proportions of ſhips and men; Nicoſia, in the middle of Cyprus, was beſieged by Muſtapha, the Viſir, with ſeventy thouſand Turks, and taken in the ſpace of forty-eight days. The ſpring following Famagouſta, the capital town and port of the iſland, ſhared the ſame fate. The loſs of Cyprus, aggravated by the narration of all thoſe inſults and ſhocking barbarities, with which the Turks are apt to mark their victories over the chriſtians, awaked

Cyprus taken by Selim.

* D'Aubigne, liv. v. chap. 29.

the

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the indignation and promoted the concord of the combined powers of the latter. Their fleet, which aſſembled at Meſſina, and ſteered for Corcyra and the coaſt of Epirus, to join with that of the Venetians, amounted to upwards of two hundred ſail of gallies and frigates. On board this navy, beſides the crews of marines and rowers, five and twenty thouſand ſoldiers were embarked. Don John of Auſtria, natural ſon to Charles V. already diſtinguiſhed by his valour in the war with the Moors in Spain, after much diſpute about the chief command, attained this honour *. Though ſixty ſail of the Turkiſh fleet had withdrawn, it was ſtill ſuperior by fifty ſhips to that of the chriſtians, and the fighting men on board of it were reckoned above thirty-five thouſand. Never had the ſovereignty of the ocean been contended with ſuch a naval force on both ſides, between the European and Aſiatic nations, ſince the riſe of the Turkiſh empire. As if it had been ordained that another ſignal competition for military renown, parallel to a former famous one between them in the ſame part of the ſea; the adverſe navies met at the ſtreights formed by the iſlands called Echinades in the gulph of Corinth, within fifty miles of the promontory of Actium, where Octavius Cæſar and Mark Anthony decided their memorable conteſt for the empire of Rome. It was evident in the battle of Lepanto, that ſuppoſing the valour of the combatants had been equal, the conſtruction of their ſhips, their arms and their manner of fighting, gave the Europeans a viſible ſuperiority. By their improvement of all arts, no leſs than by bravery, they have generally triumphed over the Aſiatics. Never was a more complete victory obtained. The fury with which both fought, under the impulſe of religious enmity, appeared by the vaſt effuſion of blood.

Famous battle of Lepanto.

* Thuan. lib. xlviii. p. 1004.

But

But the deſtruction of the Turks was almoſt as total as their overthrow. A hundred and twenty of their gallies were taken, and many others ſunk. Five and twenty thouſand of them were reckoned to have periſhed in the fight, or by the ſea, and near four thouſand were made priſoners. The chriſtians, reckoning the great numbers that died of their wounds after the battle, ſuffered the loſs of ſeveral thouſand men, and of fifteen of their ſhips *. The coaſts and iſlands of Greece, and of Aſia, trembled at the dreadful blow; and Conſtantinople, expoſed and defenceleſs by ſea, expected the Propontis would be immediately blocked up by the triumphant navy of the chriſtians. In a cataſtrophe, which ſhook the ſeat of the Ottoman throne, even that cruel and inſolent maxim of Turkiſh policy, uſually practiſed by the Sultans, which charges the moſt inevitable miſcarriages and diſaſters to the account of the commanders, and exacts their heads in atonement for them, was now departed from. Uluzali, an old Baſhaw, who eſcaped with a few ſhips, and brought the tidings of the terrible loſs to Selim, was not only exempted from puniſhment or diſgrace, but, under the cloud which hung over the empire, promoted to a higher truſt and dignity in the military office. Such a victory over the common enemy of Chriſtendom was the more intereſting and memorable, becauſe, if ever there may be reckoned a period in which the Ottoman power threatened the conqueſt of Europe, it was that of the reigns of Mahomet II. and of Solyman and Selim. In reſpect even of the culture of the arts and ſciences, which were then only in their infancy, and made the ſloweſt progreſs among the chriſtian ſtates, there was no ſuch conſiderable inequality. Several of the northern kingdoms had not emerged from barbariſm. Europe,

* Matthieu, Hiſt. de Henry IV. liv. i. p. 101.

naturally

BOOK V. naturally divided into ſeparate monarchies, and various governments, continually quarrelling and jealous of each other, had found, in religion itſelf, a new ſubject of fierce antipathy and contention. But the genius of the Aſiatics, enthralled by the deſpotiſm of the Turkiſh government, could not, in ſuch a conjuncture, aſcend beyond its contracted ſphere. Apt of itſelf ſoon to evaporate, and liable to be confounded by the intrigues of the Seraglio, it droopt after the reign of Selim, and fell into a ſtagnation. Not ſtunned and diſabled only, but demoliſhed by the victory of Lepanto, the Ottoman pride reſigned the dominion of the ocean; and, though the chriſtian confederates diſagreed, and ſoon quitted the deſign of purſuing their advantage, the Turks, even when they afterwards reſumed their ſpirit of conqueſt, and carried on various ſucceſsful enterprizes both by land and ſea, remembering their ſignal overthrow, ventured not to make ſuch another experiment of their naval ſtrength, or to equip a fleet of ſo great force, in order to engage in a ſea fight with the chriſtians.

Affairs of England and Scotland.

IN England the retreat of the queen of Scots produced a ſcene rare in itſelf, intereſting from the incidents, and which the character and particular circumſtances of the principal actors rendered ambiguous, and kept for a long time in ſuſpence, until its final cataſtrophe was ſeen. An exile from her kingdom, in uncommon circumſtances both of diſtreſs and diſhonour, the rival and competitor for the Engliſh throne, and the neareſt heir to it, had thrown herſelf and her fortune on Elizabeth's protection. In this perſonal recourſe, unforeſeen, perhaps unwiſhed for, by the one, and proceeding from ſingular neceſſity and not choice in the other, beſides the general claim of unfortunate and expelled ſovereigns, ſhe was encouraged by

by ſome late profeſſions of generous regard and concern, which Elizabeth had publicly teſtified for the condition of her ally and kinſwoman, when impriſoned and dethroned by her ſubjects *. This diſpoſition to interpoſe in Mary's favour, ſhewn in concurrence with France, and other foreign powers, could ſcarcely be conſtructed a particular obligation of honour on the Engliſh queen to take the burthen of her defence, or exert her ſingle efforts for her reſtoration. In her extremity, however, Mary was willing to underſtand it in that light; and truſted that a regard to the fame of ſuch magnanimous procedure, and the applauſe to be expected from it at foreign courts, would, though other motives were wanting, operate the deſirable effect on Elizabeth. By this preſumption, if the one princeſs appears to have imagined all former enmities now ſuperſeded, and that even the late ruffle both of her fortune and fame might be overlooked, or the review of it be diverted by commiſeration; the other, it is evident, could not correſpond to thoſe expectations, or proceed as ſhe had begun, to act on a plan of partial regard and friendſhip to the queen of Scots, without giving up all the maxims of her policy with reſpect to Scotland, and being acceſſary to the ſubverting the intereſt ſhe had cultivated with the prevailing party in that nation at ſo great expence and trouble, and even encouraging the catholics and diſaffected of her own kingdom to throw off the curb of government, and enliſt themſelves under the ſtandard of a queen devoted to the advancement of their religion †. Though the Engliſh queen then took at firſt the cauſe of Mary on the high footing of the vindication of majeſty, affronted and diſgraced in her perſon, and wrote in

* Matthieu, Hiſt. de France, liv. viii. p. 555. Thuan. lib. xxxviii. p. 803.

† D'Aubigne, liv. v. chap. 32.

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this ſtrain to the earl of Murray, regent of Scotland, requiring him to delay the proſecution of her adherents before the parliament, and to prepare for the defence of his own conduct; yet it behoved her, from the ſtrongeſt conſiderations of intereſt and policy, to ſtop ſhort, and vary at once her language and her reſolutions. The change was not diſſembled; and it was made a preliminary condition to Mary's reception at the Engliſh court, and her appearance before Elizabeth, that ſhe ſhould exculpate herſelf from the accuſation of being acceſſary to her huſband's murder. To ſoften the aſperity of this demand, and to oblige Mary's acquieſcence in it, ſhe was given to underſtand that the earl of Murray, and the commiſſioners he had brought with him from Scotland, ſhould be obliged to anſwer for their violent and rebellious procedure towards their ſovereign. After ſeveral remonſtrances, Mary, who had early made a kind of general conceſſion of the point, found it neceſſary and inevitable to ſubmit to a trial of her cauſe before Engliſh commiſſioners named by Elizabeth. It belongs not to our ſubject to give a particular expoſition of the conduct of this ſignal inqueſt, which has been of late ſo fully canvaſſed in the hiſtories of England. Where belief on the one ſide or the other of a hiſtorical fact, is made the teſt of party, poſterity, even at the diſtance of ages, will ſtill be ſceptical upon it. The labours to perplex and confound the moſt direct proof, will keep ſome pace with the endeavours to unfold them in a juſt light. The partizans of Mary have ſtudied and undertaken to do for her memory, what ſhe herſelf, her confidents, and her ableſt miniſters declined to perform for the ſake of her crown, her dignity, and even her life. But the unprejudiced and diſpaſſionate have heard more than enough on the argument, to convince them that Mary cannot be acquitted of guilt. Thoſe who from ſyſtem, from temper, or caprice, have pre-

Mary queen of Scots is accuſed in England.

engaged

engaged their faith with reſpect to it, before they admit what is ſatisfactory, will take the ſubterfuge of the moſt extravagant hypothetical reaſoning, or wait and hope for the diſcovery of new documents that never can be found.

The conſequences which immediately enſued from the detention of the Scottiſh queen in England, may be deemed perhaps no leſs ſingular and ſurpriſing than the production of the fatal caſket, formerly the gift of Francis to his conſort; and, in Bothwell's hands, the repoſitory of her private epiſtles to him, or, indeed, than any other emergency in the courſe of her examination. Elizabeth's preſent ground of triumph, ſo ardently wiſhed for by her, as ſome ſuppoſe, in having the perſon, the honour and fate of her rival reſigned to her diſpoſal, was, in ſeveral reſpects, counterbalanced by diſadvantages *. Circumſpect in all her meaſures; prudent in foreſeeing inconveniencies, cautious of inſulting the image of royalty even when degraded; ſhe endeavoured to avoid acting towards Mary, either with animoſity or weakneſs. Beſides the reſolution to detain her, ſhe ventured on no meaſure that could be conſtructed injurious to her dignity. Probable it ſeems, that either ſhe was not aware of all that might reſult even from this determination, or that, hazarding the obvious danger of it, ſhe counted it indiſpenſibly neceſſary in policy, to keep Mary from becoming an inſtrument in the hands of the foreign catholic powers, for diſturbing the tranquillity of her reign. But it was ſoon apparent that Mary, though a captive, ceaſed not to be formidable. The duke of Norfolk's oblivion of his own character, hitherto prudent, acceptable to all perſons and gracious to his ſovereign, ſhewed how irreſiſtable, in every eſſay of them, the allurements of her perſonal

* Thuan. lib. xl. p. 851.

Book V. charms proved. The northern inſurrection, headed by the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmorland, from a rooted attachment to the popiſh religion, and on principles ſubverſive of Elizabeth's ſovereignty, afforded a glaring diſcovery of the ſeeds of enmity that ſtill agitated the maſs of her government, and rendered the quiet poſſeſſion of her throne the aſſiduous labour of her wiſdom and policy. Though Norfolk's project for eſpouſing the queen of Scots, and the rebellion of the northern lords, which had a coherence, and yet proceeded on different plans, were, from the vigilance of Elizabeth's miniſters, both of them fruſtrated and overcome, the unextirpated malady in a ſhort time broke forth in
1571. another form. By applying themſelves to Mary, all the Engliſh queen's domeſtic and foreign enemies appeared to find the means of executing their purpoſes of reſentment *. The excommunication pronounced againſt the latter by Pius V. at this time directed and animated them to this courſe of vengeance. From particular indignation againſt her for the ſeizure of ſome veſſels freighted with the ſubſidy of two hundred thouſand crowns, deſtined for the payment of his Spaniſh troops, the duke of Alva had repreſented to the catholic king that the reſtoration of the antient religion in England was neceſſarily connected with the views of promoting its ſtability, and ſuppreſſing the rebellious and heretical party in the Low Countries. In concurrence with this advice, Philip had propoſed to negotiate the marriage of the queen of Scots with the archduke Charles of Auſtria. But Mary's confidents alledging that this might be diſagreeable to the French court, and always bent on taking the ſhorteſt courſe for the reparation of her fortune, propoſed to anſwer the intention of the catholic king, and operate the reconciliation

* Thuan. lib. xliv. p. 933. ibid. p. 929.

of

of England with the ſee of Rome, by the ſcheme already broached of her match with the duke of Norfolk *. By means of Robert Rodolphi, a Florentine, who had joined political agency to his commercial employment at London; this ſcheme was reduced into form, and concerted with the Spaniſh ambaſſador. Norfolk, though pardoned by Elizabeth, and apparently ſtruck with compunction for his late miſcarriage, was flattered with the preference it gave him in Mary's favour; the revolt of his ambition againſt all his ſcruples becoming ſtronger than formerly, he ſignified his aſſent and approbation to the deſigned conſpiracy. Rodolphi having got the plan of an invaſion from Flanders ſettled at Bruxelles, and obtained the pope's ſanction to the whole enterprize; a diſcovery, owing to mere accident, prevented its being carried into execution. So formidable a ſcheme of rebellion, ſupported by foreign power, even in its abortion, created apprehenſions, and multiplied ſurmiſes and jealouſies, tending to increaſe the diſquiet and the fermentation of the factious ſpirit of the times. It appeared by Elizabeth's heſitation and delay, with reſpect to the puniſhment of the duke of Norfolk, who was formally tried and condemned on the cleareſt evidence, that ſhe reckoned the forfeiture of this nobleman's life and eſtate by treaſon, pre-eminent as he was in the dignity of his blood and family, and poſſeſſed of many qualifications that engaged the public eſteem, a misfortune grievous to her, and hurtful to the reputation of her government.

SUCH were the fruits produced by the captivity of the queen of Scots in England. We may judge whether the ſtate of affairs in Scotland made a compenſation, for the miſchief of them, to the Engliſh queen. A regent, obliged indeed, and bound more than

* Ibid. liv. xlix. p. 1025.

ever,

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ever, by the criminal charge he had exhibited againſt Mary, to dependence on her, but whom ſhe avoided openly to acknowledge, and thought fit only in a partial and indirect manner to aſſiſt, had the charge of the infant king, and the direction of a tumultuary government committed to him. While the earl of Murray, the favourite engine of Elizabeth's power and influence in Scotland, ſtrove to quell the oppoſition of Mary's adherents, frequent propoſitions made, with the conſent and authority of the former princeſs, for the relief and reſtoration of the Scottiſh queen, interrupted his induſtry, and ſometimes diminiſhed the efficacy of his vigorous endeavours. This conduct of Elizabeth's ſo irreconcileable to her intereſt, hiſtorians have aſcribed to her inſidious aim of balancing, and confounding the oppoſite powers of both factions, in order to effectuate their ruin. But the evident danger was, that the earl of Murray's party, on which ſhe had built her own political intereſt, might have ſoon been overwhelmed in the conflict. At any rate, in the diſtracted condition of the Scotch nation, it was plain there was no riſque, that he ſhould become too powerful and independent. If, according to the political judgment of others upon this intricate part of Elizabeth's procedure, her principal aim was to aſſume the appearance of a neutral perſon, and to amuſe and feed the Scottiſh queen with hopes of her amicable deſigns in favour of her intereſt, it will be, perhaps, allowed, that her policy was more refined than advantageous. A piece of private revenge, executed by one of the Hamiltons, in a moment deprived her and the young king's party of the aſſiſtance of the earl of Murray, who was aſſaſſinated in the town of Linlithgow. It was immediately evident, how unſtable and precarious a foundation he had yet laid for the maintainance of his authority *. The factions renewed all

* D'Aubigne, tom. ii. chap. 19.

their

their former broils, and appeared controulable by no late meaſure of government, or overawed by fear of the Engliſh power. Mary's party, by the poſſeſſion of Edinburgh, and the declaration of the commander of the caſtle in their favour, ſeemed likely to obtain the ſuperiority. They were encouraged by Verac, a domeſtic of the French king's, and an emiſſary of the Guiſes, who appeared among them, and brought with him ſome money to diſtribute. Having inſtigated the Kers, and the Scots of the borders to make an incurſion into Northumberland, they declared they would match the Engliſh invaders of their country, with the ſuccours of France and Spain. Obliged to drop her ſhew of neutral conduct, Elizabeth ordered the earl of Suſſex to advance from Berwick with a conſiderable army. The confirmation of the earl of Lennox, the king's grandfather, in the regency, and the ſeizing ſome of the caſtles of the adverſe borders, was the chief fruit of his expedition into Scotland. Lenox's death at Stirling, by a bold and unexpected aſſault of his party, managed by Kirkaldy of Grange, ſoon reduced matters to the former ſtate of confuſion. In the following ſhort regency of the earl of Marr, the conteſts were ſuſpended by a formal truce with queen Mary's partizans. Until Morton was choſen regent, and Elizabeth more vigorouſly exerted her force by the reduction of the caſtle of Edinburgh, it appears that her hold of Scotland continued on a footing ſo inſecure and variable, that the benefit derived to it from the detention of Mary was hardly perceptible. But it was ſufficient that by the indirect way ſhe purſued, this princeſs in the event attained all the views ſhe had with reſpect to power in Scotland.

In another point of view, the Engliſh queen's conduct towards Mary, varied between appearances of favour and ungrateful proceedings,

Book V. ceedings, and contraſted by alternate teſtimonies of animoſity and friendſhip, may be judged to have gratified the particular temper of Elizabeth, and been ſuitable to the dictates of her artful policy. As Mary appeared an outcaſt from her kingdom, impeached by her ſubjects with the worſt of crimes, the regard ſhewn her in thoſe circumſtances, Elizabeth had reaſon to believe would be charged to the account of her generous commiſeration; the more noble and diſintereſted in its exertion towards one, who had pretended to vie with her in right to her throne. While every mark of reſpect and amity ſhe deſigned to give her competitor, oppreſſed and under reproach, tended to feaſt her vanity and exalt the idea of her character, no perſon knew better than Elizabeth how to extract more ſolid advantages from this deportment *. It appears that not for the honour of crowned heads only, but to ingratiate herſelf with the French court by the ſhew of moderate and amicable behaviour to Mary, ſeveral conceſſions were made by her, and propoſitions for her liberty, and the peace of Scotland, renewed in various forms. The ambaſſadors of other foreign ſtates, who ſolicited for Mary, were alſo called to the conferences held for the diſcuſſion of her cauſe. But Elizabeth, upon the diſcovery of Norfolk's conſpiracy, and Alva's projected invaſion, had the ſtrongeſt reaſon to ſeek a cloſer correſpondence with the French king. To convince Mary and her catholic adherents in England, of the prevalence of her intereſt with that court, which they regarded as their inſeparable ally and firm refuge, and to counteract the intrigues and hoſtile deſigns of Philip by a league with Charles, were her evident incitements to this meaſure. The event of the late peace with the proteſtants, which ſeemed to excuſe or to obliterate the

*Thuan. ibid. p. 1028.

memory

memory of her former partialities to them was favourable to her purpoſe, and the affectation of Charles and his miniſters conſequent to it, to appear alienated from Spain, and diſguſted with Alva's conduct in the Netherlands, concurred to facilitate the intended concord *. From the queen mother's ambitious ſolicitude for the aggrandizement of her favourite ſon, and the known facility of Elizabeth in admitting addreſſes of gallantry that diſtinguiſhed her, the propoſal of an union between the courts ſoon gave riſe to that of the marriage of this princeſs with the duke of Anjou. The French hiſtorians generally ſuppoſe, that the court laid no ſtreſs on the ſucceſs of this propoſed match, and, whatever the caſe with queen Catherine and the duke of Anjou might be, admit that, at leaſt on Charles's part, the motion of it was ſuſpected to be inſincere † and artificial. Beſides his general view of amuſing the proteſtants, it was believed he meant to thwart the ſcheme ſome of that party had formed of Elizabeth's nuptials with the young prince of Navarre. There was, doubtleſs, then a game played on both ſides, and the match run near in point of diſſimulation. The Engliſh queen, who in her finical phraſe, had called Charles himſelf, in reſpect of his youth, *too little* for her ſpouſe, uſed gentler witticiſms with the duke of Anjou. Both courts were entertained by their poets with preludes to the hymenal ſong, and their miniſters and envoys were often employed during moſt part of the year 1571, in adjuſting the terms of the connubial contract. Its abortion ſhewed the reciprocal fallacy in the conduct of the treaty. When the article about the diverſity of the religion of the parties, the moſt obvious difficulty, came in the laſt place to be ſtated, Elizabeth began to inſiſt upon what ſhe

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* Matthieu, ibid. liv. vi. p. 357. † D'Avila, liv. v. Thuan. lib. xlviii. p. 1017.

Book V. knew would be refuſed, that the duke of Anjou ſhould conform to the Engliſh church, or diſpenſe with the toleration of his own. Such compliance, even in a prince, was not then ſuitable to the principles of the times, or to the mode, and the requiſition of it put an end to the gallantry and the negotiations.

THE HISTORY of FRANCE.

BOOK VI.

Reign of CHARLES IX.

CHAP. I.

Singularity in the character af Charles IX.—*Perfidy of the court characteriſtical to it—Prevalence of Charles's diſſimulation over the jealouſy of the proteſtants—Marriage of the prince of Bearn to the king's ſiſter negotiated—Reception of the admiral at the court—Death of the queen of Navarre—Secret plot about the maſſacre of the proteſtants—The admiral wounded by an aſſaſſin—Final reſolution for vengeance on the proteſtants taken in council—The maſſacre of Paris—Charles arraigns the Hugonots with conſpiring againſt him—Maſſacres in the cities and provinces.*

AN antient author, juſtly admired both as a hiſtorian and philoſopher, when regretting, for the ſake of mankind, the cruel and miſerable ſcene of war he had deſcribed *, yet makes it a queſtion, whether among nations ambitious of empire, and rivals

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* Plutarch.

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to each other, the change from a ſtate of hoſtility to that of an involuntary or feigned peace, can be reckoned in a true eſtimate, to put them on a more laudable footing of reciprocal virtue. The latent but unrelenting enmity, he computes, to be productive of political craft, the abuſe of ſolemn engagements, of perfidious deſigns, and of an immoral and vicious intercourſe; which, though not ſo ſhocking and immediately pernicious, is no leſs ſubverſive of the principles of humanity and virtue, than the violence and outrage of war itſelf. In the proſecution of the hiſtory of France after the peace, we ſhall find reaſon to allow that this reflection, ſevere as it ſeems, was never more fully juſtified. For it is to the permanent animoſities excited by a civil war, on account of religion, that it may be underſtood peculiarly to apply, and to be exemplified among the characters formed in a court implacable in its reſentment, and devoted and habituated to a courſe of treachery.

From the portraits already given, it may be diſcerned, that the cabinet of ſtate, or the court of France, conſidered as a ſchool for political characters, formed a counterpart to that of the civil war for the martial ones. The ſtrong colours of the latter are nearly emulated by the former. The deep diſſimulation, and the bold ſtrokes of perfidy, are no leſs remarkable than the inhumanities. In the opportunity of peace, it was now the turn of the court to diſplay its characteriſtical genius. The capital figure, which the queen mother made in artificial policy, was ſtrenuouſly imitated by the king her ſon. Without this conformity of Charles's genius to her own, it may be affirmed that Catherine could not have ſucceeded in the ſcheme that was laid, of rendering the peace a fatal ſnare to the proteſtants. We have ſeen that her moſt artful attempts to ſurprize them had ſeveral times failed. Diſſimulation her talent,

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The character of Charles IX. is ſuch,

and artifice her uſual trade, ſhe was always ſuſpected, and her deſigns guarded againſt by them. But Charles's diſpoſitions and true character lay yet unfolded, or rather in ſome meaſure appeared the reverſe of what they really were *. In him nature had early matured acuteneſs of wit and quick parts, that had the ſhew of genius. His paſſions ſtill more vigorous and vehement, ſeemed ungovernable, and ſometimes run to wildneſs and fury for want of due culture and direction to their proper objects. His favourite ſports and exerciſes were all of the violent and cruel kind. Rough and paſſionate in them all, and addicted to exceſſive ſwearing and blaſphemy; his habits, as well as the natural fire of his temper appeared to diſqualify him from being a diſſembler. Yet this vicious talent, ſo inconſonant to his diſpoſitions, he had acquired, and rendered familiar to him. Having heard no one maxim ſo much inculcated at court as that of Lewis XI. that *he who knows not how to feign, knows not how to reign*; it was his ſtudy and ambition to practiſe it. The pattern of the queen mother, and the embroiled condition of the ſtate, which obliged him to endure and conceal various vexations, had gradually made him an able and unſuſpected proficient, in this only leſſon of government he was properly taught. Ever ſince the attempt made by the proteſtant chiefs at Monçeaux, he had entertained a deep reſentment againſt them. Naturally implacable, this indignation was induſtriouſly kept alive in him by the queen mother, who made a handle of it to turn him to her particular purpoſes †. By becoming the manager, and taking the lead of a ſecret plot to cruſh the proteſtants, Charles gratified his temper, his revenge, and his vanity, which made him

that diſſimulation is combined with vehemence and paſſion:

* Brantome Eloge, tom. iv. D'Aubigne, tom. ii. liv. ii. chap. 8. Thuan. lib. lvii. p. 1162.

† Matthieu, liv. vi. p. 331.

aſpire

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aſpire to perform that by circumvention, which repeated victories in the field had not accompliſhed.

and the general procedure of the court ſuch,

It were ſuperfluous then to enquire, what particular motives, or what ſpecial inducement the court had at this time, to make deceit and perfidy its refuge. All its tranſactions with the proteſtants, when narrowly examined, appear to be a mixture and complication of feigned indulgence and avowed perſecution, of open hoſtility and ſecret fraud. Circumſtances produce the alternate ſcenes of peace and war, while the aims and deſigns of the rulers of the cabinet hold in both the ſame invariable direction. If there had even enſued ſome change of the principal perſonages of the court, attachment to former maxims of conduct, and the cuſtomary biaſs and attitude of thoſe in power, would in all probability ſtill have prevailed to have carried them on in a ſimilar career. But when no ſuch alteration took place, not only obſtinate perſeverance in the ſame artificial meaſures was preferred, but it was deemed the maſterpiece of policy, by more crafty and ſucceſsful management, to avoid former miſcarriages, and triumph over repeated diſappointments.

with reſpect to the proteſtants,

The queen mother ſaw with complacence the purſuit of her favourite project undertaken by Charles; the more pleaſed and elated with hope of its fortunate iſſue, as unprompted by any influence but her own, he appeared to follow it from free will and choice; and what formerly might be marred by the imprudence of violent aſſociates, or the reſerve and reluctance of others, would now be ſubmitted to the more auſpicious and ſafer conduct and ſecrecy of a few approved confidents. Already the cabinet was modelled to her mind. De l'Hoſpital was not only removed *, but Morvilliers, appointed to ſupply his place for a

that the king's cabinet council being the ſame,

* Thuan. lib. xlix. p. 1048. Brantome, ibid.

time, was from a ſuſpicion of his ſcrupulous and timid diſpoſition ſuperceded in the office of chancellor, by Renate Birague; a man qualified by temper and principle, to be the accomplice of deſpotiſm in every arbitrary and cruel purpoſe. Albert de Gonde, the marſhal de Retz, a Florentine of mean and ignominious pedigree, an adept in diſſimulation and profligacy, from whom as his greateſt favourite, Charles is ſaid to have borrowed his inſidious addreſs; Gonzaguo duke of Nevers, whom lameneſs by a wound he received in the late war had rendered a fierce enemy to the Hugonots, and the baſtard count of Angouleme, natural ſon to Henry II. were the perſons in whom the king chiefly confided. As yet, it is likely they were only allowed to gueſs Charles's intention; but the particular ſecret of his deſign againſt the proteſtants, was ſtill locked in his mother's breaſt, and his own. By themſelves the plan, rather than the full object of it, being comprehended; time and opportunity were waited for to ſet it more clearly in their view.

the ſecret deſigns continued to be invariably perfidious.

THE advantageous terms of the peace of St. German en Laye; and the ſolemn profeſſions which Catherine and Charles made to maintain it inviolably, did not ſoon throw the proteſtant princes and chiefs off their guard. Former experience of the infidelity of the court, made them ſtill cautious and circumſpect in truſting thoſe ſuſpicious declarations. Diſpoſed to remit the teſt of them to time, and to judge of their veracity from facts; they kept together in a body, and choſe Rochelle for a retreat, and the place of their common conſultations *. In the courſe of ſeveral month's continuance there, a variety of obſervations made, and reports cur-

Though jealous and circumſpect,

* Matthieu, Sully, ibid.

rent

Book VI. 1570. rent among them about the ſteps of the court, and the behaviour of ſome provincial governors, increaſed the diffidence and ſiniſter apprehenſions to which they were naturally inclined. During the firſt movements of the government to execute the edict, unpallatable to the bigotted party; appearances ſufficient to provoke the jealouſy of the proteſtants, and ſome inſtances of procedure liable to juſt exception, could not be avoided *. It gave ground for reflexions, that thoſe articles of the pacification, called the ſecret ones, were not yet regiſtered in the parliament, nor ſealed by the chancellor; that the marquis of Villars, known to be an inveterate foe to the proteſtants, was appointed to the lieutenancy of the province of Guienne, of which the prince of Navarre was governor; and that queen Jane his mother was excluded from the poſſeſſion of one of her towns. Other complaints that preſently aroſe, about the oppoſition given by the catholics in ſome places to the freedom of the proteſtant worſhip, and the renewal of former inſults by them, would ſoon have made an additional impreſſion, that could not have been eaſily effaced. But they were hardly permitted to vent theſe murmurs, or indulge this ſullen mood. The marſhal de Coſſe, and la Proutiers maſter of requeſts, arrived at Rochelle with ample inſtructions from the court, to obviate conteſts about the explications of the edict, and to conſult with the proteſtant chiefs, about the propereſt methods of enforcing its general obſervance. Such obſequious attention, which had never been ſhewn to them on other occaſions, tended to blunt the edge of their complaints ‡. What expoſtulations were uttered by them, ſeemed to be a recital of their paſt ſufferings, rather than any juſt ſenſe or view of preſent grievances. De Coſſe performed his commiſſion

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* D'Aubigne, tom. ii. p. 524. ‡ Ibid.

to

to more advantage, from the impreſſions they had of his character; being regarded as one ready to do them the offices of a friend, and ſincere in his inclinations for eſtabliſhing the public peace, more than diſpoſed to play the part of an artful courtier. The encouragement he gave them to hope for every equitable conceſſion from the king, and the repreſentation he made of the favourable turn of the politics of the court were credited; and that part of his meſſage which reſpected the marriage of the prince of Navarre to Margaret, Charles's ſiſter, appeared to be a confirmation of thoſe aſſurances. Having by this introduction, ſmoothed the way to friendly intercourſe, the marſhal returned to the court; whither he was ſoon followed by Teligni, Briguemaut, and the counſellor de Cavagne, whom the princes had pitched upon to ſound the diſpoſitions of the miniſtry, and to proſecute the full execution of the articles of the edict.

the artful addreſs of the court overcomes the jealouſy of the proteſtant chiefs.

THE court would now appear in its beſt aſpect to the proteſtant deputies. Nothing of the diſcontent, at other times obſervable after a forced peace, could now be diſcerned. In the midſt of the public joy conſequent to the nuptials of the king, who made a magnificent entrance into Paris, and received the congratulatory addreſſes of the officers of ſtate, and all the orders of the magiſtracy; every ſymptom of this kind was diſſipated *. What an appearance becoming the dignity of a prince, Charles on ſuch occaſions had the capacity to make, was manifeſt in the ſpirited harangue he pronounced in the court of parliament. It ſeemed to atteſt both his natural propenſity, and his genius, for acting the monarch on maxims of his own. The effrontery of faction, and

Induced by Charles's public declarations;

* Thuan. lib. xlviii. p. 1015. Matthieu. Brantome, ibid.

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the reſtleſs ſpirit which the civil war had nouriſhed, were threatened by the vigour of his declarations and acts of government. For the better ſecuring the public tranquillity, it was made capital and confiſcation of goods, to carry fire-locks of any ſort. When intelligence came that the proteſtants at Rouen had been attacked, and ſome of them killed and wounded, as they went out to their religious conventicle, by the catholic ſoldiers of the city; Charles waited not to be ſolicited, but with apparent indignation at this affront to the honour of his government, proceeded directly to do juſtice againſt the offenders. The marſhal Montmorency, attended by the preſident de Morſan and other counſellors of the parliament of Paris, being diſpatched, on purpoſe to take cognizance of the riot, the ringleaders in it were puniſhed with death; others fined, and a capital ſentence was denounced againſt all the fugitives. An outrage which happened at Orange was in like manner repreſſed; and according to an article of the peace, Lewis of Naſſau was allowed to appoint a governor to that town and citadel, the principality of which belonged to his brother †. The proteſtant deputies had alſo the ſatisfaction to obtain the removal of the croſs of Gatine; a late erected monument of the ſeverity of the government, and the rage of the Pariſians againſt two brothers of their ſect, who were accuſed and condemned for holding religious aſſemblies in their houſe. Though its transferrence in the night time, with a new inſcription, to the church yard of the Innocents, was attended with a tumult; yet the immediate ſuppreſſion of the diſorder, ſhewed that Charles's authority was exerted without ſcruple, and eaſily prevailed in a matter, that, it was feared, would prove offenſive to the populace of Paris. To other requiſitions of

† D'Aubigne, ibid. p. 525.

the

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the deputies, the like favourable regard was in appearance ſhewn; de Villars's commiſſion of lieutenancy being ſuſpended, and aſſurances given, that the queen of Navarre, and the prince her ſon, ſhould be allowed the full exerciſe of all their rights and privileges.

and various inſtances of regard to them,

THE readineſs the court manifeſted to redreſs the grievances, and prevent the complaints of the proteſtants, was only a part of its artificial procedure. The tone aſſumed by Charles, and imitated by his miniſters, both with reſpect to domeſtic policy and foreign negotiations, ſeemed to indicate a purpoſed change in the principles and meaſures of the government. Of this diſpoſition, the propoſed marriage of the king's ſiſter to Henry prince of Bearn, and the alledged deſign of entering into a war with Spain, appeared to afford plain and inconteſtible evidence ‡. De Biron grand maſter of artillery, whoſe behaviour during the war, as well as his general character, rendered him an acceptable negotiator, was commiſſioned by the king to repair to Rochelle, and make the formal propoſition of the firſt of theſe points, to the queen of Navarre, and to declare his royal intention about the ſecond. The arguments he was inſtructed to inſiſt upon, with reſpect to the match, were ſuch, as not only tended to remove difficulties and ſcruples, but to produce a conviction in the minds of the proteſtant chiefs, that the king's aim and motive in it, were entirely amicable. It was Charles's own language about the marriage, that he beſtowed his ſiſter upon the prince of Navarre, with a view to render the connubial tye a general one, to attach all the Hugonots to his government, and to baniſh their apprehenſions concerning the immuta-

eſpecially manifeſted by the propoſal of the marriage of Henry prince of Bearn to the king's ſiſter,

‡ Matthieu, Sully, ibid.

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bility of his edicts of peace. The refusal which Pius V. gave of a dispensation for the consanguinity, instead of slackening his intention, seemed rather to move his spleen against the court of Rome. Even the princess Margaret's known inclination for the duke of Guise, animated Charles to a pitch of resentment against the favourite lover, whose presumption he thought might carry him to contradict his will, and offer an indignity to the house of France *. In a fit of indignation he presented two swords to the bastard of Angoulême, requiring him to take one of them and kill the duke of Guise, or expect his own death by the other. His rage was calmed by the speedy marriage of the duke to the widow of the prince of Porcian. With respect to the enterprize of the Spanish war, besides that the general policy and particular interest of France in the Low Countries, appeared to dictate this measure to the court, the late cordiality with the queen of England, which might infer a conformation to her political views, would be considered to be an additional inducement to it. But the court propagated an argument still more direct and special for breaking with the catholic king †. This was the secret history of Elizabeth's catastrophe; which, with such affecting circumstances we have related, began to be surmised in the court of France; and was now retailed by queen Catherine, to perswade the protestant chiefs, what an interesting motive she had to concur with them in hating the Spanish monarch, and revenging upon him the miserable death of her daughter.

and the declared purpose of a war with Spain,

In the treaty about the match for her son, the queen of Navarre acted with that becoming dignity and spirit, which distin-

* Matthieu, ibid. p. 333. † Sully, ibid.

guiſhed her character. She did not haſtily determine a point of ſuch importance, upon the favourable proſpect it afforded of advancing the honour and intereſt of her family, by cloſer connection with the houſe of France. Deſiring time to deliberate, as from a principle of conſcience, upon the diſparity of religion, and anxious not to forfeit the eſteem of that ſect to which ſhe had profeſſed herſelf a ſincere votary; ſhe referred to the conſultation of the moſt learned perſons of her perſwaſion ‡, the affair of the marriage, charging them not to reſt their judgment of it on the conſideration of the grandeur of her houſe, or of the fortune of her ſon; but rather to decide the queſtion by that of the intereſt of their common faith, and the general good of their party. If there had been juſt grounds of ſcruple, this was indeed the moſt ſuitable way to overcome them. But the difficulties being found of no ſufficient weight, the articles of the contract were agreed upon. The dowry to be given with the princeſs was three hundred thouſand crowns, valued at fifty-four ſous each; and the queen of Navarre reſigned to her ſon the rents of the county of Armagnac, and twelve thouſand livres out of her own jointure lands. On the part of the king, every thing was facilitated. A brief conceived in fuller terms, to remove the objections of the cardinal of Bourbon, was obtained from Gregory XIII. who now ſucceeded to the pontificate, upon the death of Pius V. It was even known to be the king's intention, that part of the nuptial ceremony, which the Roman ritual required ſhould be diſpenſed with. The only circumſtance that ſeemed liable to jealous conſtruction, and to diffidence was, that the city of Paris had been named by the king for the place of the celebration of the nuptials, where the hatred of

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the queen of Navarre and her chief counſellors,

‡ Matthieu, ibid. p. 336.

the

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the populace to the Hugonots was ſufficiently known. But the impropriety of inſiſting on this objection was manifeſt. To have required the king's ſiſter when a bride, to quit the capital, and have her marriage rites performed in any inferior city within the kingdom, was too fantaſtical. It would alſo be judged conſonant to that ſcheme of amity and concord between the catholic and proteſtant chiefs, which Charles declared to have been his view in the late treaty of peace, and his chief object in the marriage *. Though the queen of Navarre might heſitate a while, and intimate to the court the apprehenſions of her party upon the point; it became unſeemly after the agreement of all other articles to argue upon it. Meanwhile, the king and queen Catherine had directed their courſe to Blois, that they might more eaſily confer with her commiſſioners, and having finiſhed the negotiation, be ready to receive her and the prince of Bearn with honour.

accept the offers of the court.

In conſequence of the nuptial compact, the intercourſe of the proteſtant chiefs with the court, became more unreſerved and frequent. Their former jealouſies were gradually diſſipated, by the reports carried back to Rochelle, and every where ſpread of Charles's generous treatment of their deputies and thoſe commiſſioned by the queen of Navarre, and of his diſpoſition, not only to maintain the late edicts, but to govern the ſtate upon principles comprehenſive of the general intereſt, and favourable to them. After ſuch declarations and proofs of the temper of the king and the court, it ſeemed to many to be unjuſtifiable obſtinacy, and might be deemed injurious to the intereſt of their party ſtill to harbour ſuſpicions, and by keeping on their guard and at a diſtance, to loſe

The other chiefs following their example,

* Sully, ibid.

the

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the faireſt opportunity of ingratiating themſelves with their ſovereign, and perfecting their reconciliation with the catholics †. Thoſe who had viſited the court, and receiving ſome earneſts of Charles's liberality, anticipated the fulfilment of his more bountiful promiſes, made uſe of ſuch arguments to perſuade others to a compliance. To ſome the proſpect of enjoying the pleaſures of the court, was a ſufficient allurement. But the admiral and the moſt prudent chiefs, who ſtill were inclined to be circumſpect and reſerved in their confidence, began to be moved to it by other conſiderations. The connection which Charles affected to enter into with the court of England, where queen Elizabeth's marriage with the duke of Anjou was ſolicited, firſt by the cardinal of Chatillon, and then by the marſhal Montmorency *, his employing Gaſper Schomberg in Germany to engage duke Caſimer and other princes to become his allies, and to furniſh levies of men and aids for the war in the Low Countries, and ſome military preparations that ſeemed to be made both by ſea and land, for a rupture with Spain, were demonſtrations which they thought could not be counterfeited, that the king was bent to ſhake off the political fetters of the bigotted party at court, and laboured earneſtly to aſſert his own independant authority in the government of the ſtate, and to conſult the intereſt and honour of the nation. It was upon this judgment of Charles's intentions that count Ludovick of Naſſau ‡ repaired in diſguiſe along with ſome of the proteſtant chiefs to Blois, where the court was, in order to inform the king of the ſtate of the war in the Netherlands; and to perſuade him with what advantage he might now engage in it. His reception was favourable;

lay aſide diſtruſt;

† Sully, ibid.

* D'Aubigne, tom. ii. liv. i. chap. 2.

‡ Thuan. lib. xlviii. p. 1018.

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favourable; and the anſwer given by Charles about the war, artfully ſerved as a proof that he wanted not inclination, but encouragement and freedom to act in the manner the count and his partizans wiſhed him to do. Charles ſignified, that however well diſpoſed he might be to adopt their political plan, not only the difficulties that might attend the enterprize of the Spaniſh war, but his own ſituation with reſpect to proper confidents in that buſineſs, embarraſſed him; and therefore as a previous and neceſſary ſtep to his final reſolution, he deſired to have the aſſiſtance and counſel of the admiral Coligni. The circumſtances of this chieftain were ſo particular as might require that ſuch addreſs ſhould be uſed with him. As the pillar of his party during the whole courſe of the civil war, more the object of reſentment, and more dreaded than any other, and one againſt whom the family of Guiſe ſtill maintained an avowed enmity; he had the ſtrongeſt reaſons to be cautious, how he ventured his perſon at court and in Paris. Famed and reſpected among foreign princes, he had inducements both from ambition and intereſt, not to be precipitant in engaging himſelf with the court; but to preſerve, during the public peace, a kind of independency, which while it was moſt conſiſtent with his perſonal ſafety, would ſecure the attachment of the proteſtants to him, and ſtrengthen their party. But in determining himſelf in circumſtances ſo critical, the admiral diſcovered the ruling propenſity he had to the ſervice of his king and country. Charles ſeemed to underſtand this native bias of his mind; when among other flattering meſſages by Ludovick of Naſſau *, he ſent him word, "that it was now time to think of an expedition to the Weſt-Indies."

and the admiral is engaged by particular ſolicitations,

* D'Aubigne, ibid. chap. 1. Thuan. ibid.

Unable

Unable to reſiſt the force of thoſe motives, which touched at once his patriotiſm and his vanity, Coligni was further moved by the concurring intreaties of his friends, the marſhal de Coſſe, and Montmorency, who joined with count Naſſau in perſuading him to diſmiſs every remaining apprehenſion. Having taken his reſolution, he left Rochelle, and repaired to the court at Blois, in the month of September; and ſoon after the queen of Navarre prepared to take the ſame rout, in order to put the finiſhing hand to the marriage treaty.

to come to the court at Blois.

September.

THE appearance of the admiral in the midſt of the court was a new ſcene, which gave occaſion to Charles and queen Catherine to make a more glaring ſhew of their gracious and amicable reception of him and the chiefs by whom he was accompanied †. In the firſt interview, he was raiſed from his poſture of obeiſance, embraced, called father, and applauded by the king in ſingular terms. "Now, ſaid he, taking him by the hand and ſmiling, that we have you with us, we will hold you, and though you ſhould deſire it, we will not ſuffer you to depart." Queen Catherine, and even the duke of Anjou, treated him with ſimilar complaiſance and reſpect, and the duke of Alençon diſcovered a particular fondneſs for an intimacy with him; of which his brother ſoon began to be ſuſpicious. With thoſe expreſſions of favour and amity, Charles's liberality to the admiral correſponded remarkably. A hundred thouſand livres as an indemnification for his private loſſes in the late wars, were aſſigned to him, and by a ſpecial grant, he was allowed to enjoy a year's revenue of the rich benefices that belonged to his brother, the cardinal of Chatillon; whoſe death at

The reception Charles gave him,

† Matthieu, ibid. p. 338. Thuan. ibid.

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Southampton in England had lately happened, being occaſioned, as it afterwards appeared, by poiſon given him by one of the Valets. The admiral's ſeat and rank at the council table, were alſo reſtored to him. The deliberations neceſſary to precede the declaration of war againſt Spain were referred to him; and the king ſeemed to depend on his counſel, both with regard to the alliances to be formed, and the meaſures to be taken, for the proſecution of it. If Charles's intercourſe with Coligni ſurprized and offended the bigotted party of the catholics; the novelty of it likewiſe awakened ſome anxious fears in the minds of many of the proteſtants, who were long accuſtomed to be diſtruſtful of the friendly profeſſions of the court ‡. On account of the appearance of the baron de la Garde and Landereau, with a fleet fitted out near their port, the Rochellers were the firſt who took the alarm, and intimated their jealouſies to the admiral. But inſtead of being himſelf apprehenſive, or giving encouragement to ſuch ſiniſter conjectures in others, he replied to them like one who accounted it diſgraceful to the king and injurious to his government to entertain them. He exhorted them, not to revive, by thoſe groſs ſuſpicions, the ſeeds of diſcord; but bid them reflect on the late miſeries of war they had endured; and as they loved their country, to cheriſh the agreeable taſte of peace. So far did he teſtify his earneſt deſire to obliterate every memorial of the civil enmities, that the ſurrender of the cities, which were left by the peace as ſureties in the hands of the proteſtants, was urged by him, before the period fixed for it; and he prevailed in ſome degree for the adoption of the meaſure. As the king not only continued to treat him with many marks of ſingular confidence; but to pay the utmoſt regard to the petitions

is calculated to remove every apprehenſion;

‡ D'Aubigne, chap. 2. Thuan. ibid. p. 1034.

of

of the deputies of the proteſtants, by iſſuing declarations and arrets for confirming the privileges granted them; it became the admiral to make theſe returns that a ſenſe of duty and deſire of the public tranquillity might dictate to him. If we ſhould even ſuppoſe him to have been too unwary and credulous with reſpect to the oſtentations of Charles's reconcilement with him, and of his favour to his obnoxious partizans; and that as the hiſtorians obſerve, the exceſs of them was ſufficient to render them ſuſpected; yet this credulity or remiſſneſs of penetration, which was ſo contrary to his character, muſt be owned to have been that of a man of honour, who believed a king with whom he dealt ſincerely, would not be perfidious; and of a ſubject, who, wearied of his revolt from government, and of the inteſtine calamities of his country, preſumed on the moſt plauſible appearances, that he had found the deſirable iſſue of them.

and his own diſguſt with civil war tends to confirm his pacific ſecurity.

But the treacherous practices of the court to deceive the admiral and his friends were far from being ſuperficial. The artful conduct of Catherine and her ſon were rather, as Sully terms it, a prodigy of diſſimulation. It was not only by a train of gracious and flattering promiſes, of liberal grants, and uncommon conceſſions to the proteſtant chiefs, that they concealed their ſecret deſigns. Various negotiations and treaties entered into with foreign courts, which, viewed in connexion with the intended marriage, ſeemed to proceed upon the ſame plan, were alſo rendered conducive to them. Though the ſcheme of the match of the duke of Anjou with the Engliſh queen was dropt; a defenſive league with the court of England was at this period concluded by Charles, and ſolemnly ſworn and ratified on both ſides *. One article in it,

Whilſt the court redoubles its diſſimulation,

* Thuan. ibid. P. Daniel, p. 966.

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to the reprizals to be made by the French king, in caſe of the detention of Engliſh ſhips in any of the ports of the catholic king, appeared to point directly to a breach with the court of Spain. Schomberg's agency among the German princes, and the miſſion of John Galeaſe, to borrow money from Coſmo duke of Florence, bore the ſame aſpect. Cardinal Alexandrini, ſent by the pope into France, to admoniſh the king againſt forming alliances with heretics, returned in haſte to Rome. The Spaniſh ambaſſador receiving no ſatisfaction to his remonſtrances, prepared to withdraw; and the Guiſes and their aſſociates, diſguſted with the mortifications they every day met with, followed his example. The admiral and the other eminent chiefs of his party, ſeemed to gain more upon Charles, and to acquire a higher influence with him by this receſs of their adverſaries. In the midſt of thoſe auſpicious appearances, the queen of Navarre ſet out for Paris, to provide for the ſolemnity of the nuptials. She was ſoon ſeized with a feveriſh diſorder †, and after five days illneſs expired. An event ſo unexpected and diſaſtrous as this, naturally begot an alarm among the bulk of the proteſtants; and various gloomy ſuſpicions and reports were inſtantly propagated about the cauſe of her death. Several of the hiſtorians, without examining the point, have ſubſcribed to the opinion of her being poiſoned, and chuſe, with d'Avila, to make her death the firſt act of the inſidious and bloody ſcene which ſoon opened. But in the gloves ſcented with poiſon, and prepared by a perfumer of Milan, it is highly probable there was no reality*. When her body was opened, her own phyſician and ſurgeon found an internal abceſs or ulcer, which ſufficiently accounted for her ſudden death. It is evident alſo that neither her ſon the king of

the queen of Navarre dies of a fever at at Paris, June 10th.

† D'Aubigne, De Serres, ibid. * Thuan. p. 1035. Matthieu, ibid. p. 339.

Navarre,

Navarre, the young prince of Condé, nor the admiral, gave credit to the ſurmiſes of her being poiſoned. A ſtroke ſo precipitate as this, which run the hazard of a diſcovery, and might have marred the whole machinations, can hardly be imagined to have proceeded from ſuch political artiſts as Charles and queen Catherine. To what has been ſaid on the remarkable character and conduct of Jean of Navarre, we ſhall not ſubjoin the particular anecdotes of her, that may be read in moſt of the hiſtorians; but only obſerve, that as ſhe knew how to make herſelf illuſtrious, with an inconſiderable ſhare of the ſupports of royalty, her ingenuity enabled her to give to her religious profeſſion, that ſuitable air of moral and literary improvement for which the converts of the reformation valued themſelves; and which, by palliating the hardy efforts of their zeal, ſeemed to acquit them from that enthuſiaſm and affected auſterity, imputed to them by their opponents.

Traits of her character.

WHILE Charles, who had ſecretly permitted the levying of ſoldiers under Genlis for the ſervice of the prince of Orange, ſtill under various pretences evaded an open declaration of hoſtilities with the Spaniſh king, accounts were brought of the entire defeat of that auxiliary band, by the duke of Alva's forces. Affected with this intelligence, and believing that in ſuch a criſis, he might puſh the king to an abſolute determination for war, the admiral repaired to Paris, whither he had been ſolicited to come *, by letters from his majeſty. He found the court on his arrival in deep mourning for the queen of Navarre, and Charles under apparent diſquiet for the diſaſter of the French troops in Flanders; and ſuch precautions uſed by him for preventing any commotion or diſturb-

In hopes of inſtigating the king to declare war with Spain,

* Thuan. lib. lii. p. 1044.

ance,

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ance, either of the factious nobles, or of the populace of Paris, as were ſufficient to confirm him in his honeſt reliance on the king's gracious intentions with reſpect to himſelf and his aſſociates †.

the admiral repairs to Paris;

Inſtructions were diſpatched to Mondoucet, the French envoy in the Netherlands, to inſiſt with the duke of Alva for the liberation of the French gentlemen, who were taken priſoners; and Coligni was empowered to renew his commiſſions for raiſing a freſh body of troops. Beſides ſeveral rigorous edicts againſt carrying arms, and for maintaining the public tranquillity, four hundred picked ſoldiers were added to the ordinary guard about the Louvre. Such regulations ſeemed to be neceſſary and ſuited to the occaſion of the nuptials; when ſo great a reſort of the nobles, both catholic and proteſtant, and of their retinues, was expected in the metropolis. But things ſtanding in this poſture, which admitted of that favourable interpretation put upon it by the admiral; a different opinion of the deſigns of the court was entertained by ſeveral of his friends and partizans; who in proportion to the confidence he expreſſed, were diſpoſed to vent their doubts and ſuſpicions; and when he ſet out for Paris, began to raiſe a louder outcry, about the manifeſt danger to which he expoſed himſelf. To theſe vague admonitions given, both in word and writing, and to which no ſpecial reply could be given; Coligni anſwered in a manner that ſhewed both the firmneſs and the integrity of his heart *. "The peace is made, ſaid he, and I have taken my reſolution to truſt the faith of the king; and will rather be dragged through the ſtreets of Paris than have recourſe again to a civil war." That it was the influence of this ſentiment, and not, as d'Avila deſcribes it, the extacy of pride and arrogance that blunted the admiral's diſcernment, and

and continues proof againſt all impreſſions of jealouſy.

† D'Aubigne, ibid. chap. 3. * Thuan. D'Aubigne, ibid.

‡ rendered

rendered him inſenſible of what was ſo apparent to many inferior underſtandings, is entirely credible from every view of his character and conduct. Hence thoſe repeated attempts that were made by memorialiſts of different claſſes, to agitate his ſpirit and confound his reſolution with their apprehenſions, had ſo little effect. If we can ſuppoſe him to have ſuddenly loſt, through the exceſs of his preſumption and vanity, all his former ideas of the court, the vigilant zeal of ſome of his party was ſufficiently exerted to revive them *. In one of thoſe memorials, wrote in the ſevere ſtile, he was called upon to reflect on that authorized maxim of the church of Rome; that faith was not to be kept with heretics. Queen Catherine was painted out, as the true progeny of Rome, and the diſciple of Machiavel. Her ſon, trained up in the ſame principles, was ſaid to emulate her vindictive ſpirit, and to have ſworn never to forget the attempt of the proteſtants at Meux. That in ſpite of their ſubtle conduct, it was alledged they had ſometimes betrayed their diſſimulation; of which, what was heard to paſs betwixt Catherine and the king, upon the arrival of the queen of Navarre at Blois, was a manifeſt proof. "Have I not, ſaid Charles, acted my part well." "Admirably, replied the mother, you have begun, but you muſt go on to the end." "I will not have done, anſwered Charles with repeated oaths, until I bring them all into the toils." Coligni, excuſing the virulent ſtile of thoſe remonſtrances, gave a calm reply; while the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, to whom they were alſo addreſt, treated them with a meaſure of ſcorn and contempt.

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THE brief granted by Gregory XIII. for the marriage of the king of Navarre with Margaret de Valois, being arrived; the ſolem- Aug. 13th.

* Matthieu, p. 340. D'Aubigne, ibid.

nities

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1572. While the marriage is pompouſly celebrated,

nities of it were conducted according to the agreement; neither altogether after the popiſh nor the proteſtant form*. A variety of magnificent entertainments which followed it for ſeveral days, diffuſed the reliſh of ſocial joy and feſtivity; in the participation of which, not only all the ſparks of former diſcord ſeemed to be quenched; but a happy pledge to be given, of the future union of the jarring parties, and of the tranquillity of the ſtate. But the dark deſigns, for promoting which queen Catherine and Charles had ſo long bent the efforts of their diſſimulation, were now brought to the critical point. Their ſcheme of drawing the principal leaders of the proteſtants to Paris, had, by means of the nuptials, and their deluſion of the admiral, ſucceeded to admiration. Above ſeven hundred of the proteſtant nobleſſe and gentry, the flower of their chieftains, who followed the young king of Navarre, the prince of Condé and the admiral to the court, were now lodged in the city or ſuburbs, diſarmed, unprepared, and incapable of reſiſting the force that might be ſuddenly raiſed againſt them. This ſo much ſought for opportunity, which their own craft had created, was to be taken and employed in the manner thoſe in the ſecret of the ſanguinary purpoſes of Catherine and her ſon might judge proper, for effectuating the ruin of a party ſo hated and feared as the proteſtants were. In machinations of this kind, the eſſential ſecrecy generally conceals altogether, or renders ambiguous, the original contrivance. It is not ſurprizing then †, to find the hiſtorians varying in their account of the firſt motions made, and the reſolutions taken, about this clandeſtine and horrid plot; which being, as it ſeems, imparted only to one or two of Charles's confidents already named, was with much diffidence diſcloſed by him to his

the ſecret deſign againſt the proteſtant chiefs,

* Matthieu, ibid. † Ibid. p. 335. Thuan. p. 1018.

brother

brother the duke of Anjou. The common account of the firſt conſultation about it, as we find it given both by ſome catholic and proteſtant hiſtorians, is exceptionable, as the detail of moſt events may be reckoned, that run upon the marvellous. It is ſaid, that ſo far back as the king's progreſs to Blois *, a cabinet council had been held upon the buſineſs, in that very chamber; in the caſtle where Henry duke of Guiſe was aſſaſſinated, ſixteen years after by Henry III. and that upon Charles's return to Paris, the ſame conſultation was reſumed at St. Cloud in the confines of the city, in the ſame apartment where the firſt mentioned of thoſe monarchs was ſtabbed by Clement the Jacobine monk. Having avoided in the courſe of this hiſtory, to inſert what is doubtful, or not agreed upon among the hiſtorians, we ſhall not inſiſt upon the affair of Lignerolle's death; which is attributed by ſeveral of them to his raſhly diſcovering to Charles his knowledge of the ſecret deſign upon the proteſtant chiefs, of which the duke of Anjou, whoſe favourite he was, is ſuppoſed to have informed him, about the time the court was at Blois. It ſhall alſo be granted, that the particular ſcheme or method of procedure in aſſaulting the Hugonots in Paris, could not be long premeditated; and that the meaſure and extent of it, had ſtill remained undetermined. As circumſtances alone could give a preciſe ſhape both to the one and the other, and queen Catherine would be naturally diſpoſed to turn the profound project in her ſubtile thought, and ſtudy attentively how it might be rendered moſt effectual and complete; it is highly probable that the final conſultations were kept in ſuſpence to this very period, and even when brought to the point of execution, that they were in ſome degree varied and changed. But it

is in ſome meaſure concerted among Charles's confidents;

* Ibid. Brantome Eloge, tom. iv. p. 5.

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but the amount of their resolutions is not fully understood.

can be admitted as no more than a conjecture, what father Daniel * would conclude from the Memoirs of the marshal de Tavannes and Brantome, that the only aim of the court was to make away with the admiral, and seize the persons of the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé; and that the more general massacre was an accidental consequence of Coligni's assassination not being accomplished, and of the resentment the protestant chiefs expressed at the attempt to destroy him. This last fact is mere alledgance; and the opinion in general inconsistent with various circumstances about the plot, related by the best historians, can only be maintained with respect to Charles himself, whose dissimulation and resentment, undirected to a certain aim, the queen mother hoped to guide to her purpose; and accordingly succeeded.

IT appears that by the original contrivance of the barbarous plot, it had been devised to connect the stroke of vengeance with the sports and shews consequent to the marriage †. A wooden fort, constructed in the isle of the palace, was designed to be made a part of those entertainments. In the course of the defence, and the attack of it, in which the duke of Anjou and a chosen party of the catholics, were to be opposed to the king of Navarre and his associates, an occasion of animosity was to be sought by the former, who being provided with balls for their muskets, could begin and perpetrate, without the appearance of design, a real slaughter of their adversaries. But this stratagem, which plainly implied the purpose of an unlimited bloodshed, was laid aside as unartificial and liable to suspicion; and the secret deliberations being again entered upon, the following discussion of what was to be executed

* Tom. v. p. 975.

† D'Aubigne, liv. i. chap. 2. Thuan. p. 1032. Matthieu, p. 335.

is

is ſaid to have taken place among the confidents *. It was obſerved, that there ſubſiſted in the kingdom two oppoſite factions, thoſe of the Montmorencys and the Guiſes, which, too powerful to bear controul, contributed to embroil the ſtate; beſides the whole diſaffected body of the proteſtants, the incendiaries of ſo many civil wars, of whom the admiral, now that he was the ſingle ſurvivor of his family, might be reckoned the ringleader and head. That, it being impracticable or dangerous to attempt the ſuppreſſion of thoſe factious partizans by one blow; the ſafeſt and moſt eligible method was, to cut them off ſucceſſively, and to inſtigate their rage againſt one another. That Coligni ought to be immediately ſingled out as the moſt obnoxious victim, whoſe death, in itſelf a momentuous atchievement, might not only be effectuated without hazard, but by rouſing the proteſtant gentry into a ſudden fury, would certainly embroil them with the Guiſes, who, with the aſſiſtance of the Pariſians, would be able to overpower them, and that the reſult of ſuch a conflict could eaſily be turned to the advantage of the ſovereign authority. Even upon the ſuppoſition that the murder of the admiral, and the arreſtment of his aſſociates, had at firſt been only deſigned by Charles; it is evident, from the compariſon of the different narratives of the hiſtorians, that the ſcheme of vengeance was in this manner caſt into a more horrid form by the cabal of a few ſervile confidents, who were deſtitute of all principles of honour and humanity. In the artificial improvement of the machinations, queen Catherine and her favourite aſſociates are, with great probability, ſaid to have adopted this higher project, of provoking the Montmorencys and the Guiſes to encounter each other, and of ſeizing the opportunity that would thence

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It being determined to begin the ſcene, by killing the admiral;

* Thuan. ibid. p. 1047.

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enſue, to reduce them both under ſubjection. But, though the duke of Guiſe was for ſome time excluded from the ſecret conſultations, it became neceſſary to admit him into a degree of confidence, when it was determined to begin the ſcene with the ſlaughter of the admiral, which it was certain no other perſon would ſo eaſily undertake, and in whatever manner it might be accompliſhed, would, by the public judgment, be directly imputed to him.

the duke of Guiſe employs Maurevel as the aſſaſſin,

The regiment of the king's guards had been by this time brought into the city, not in a clandeſtine manner, but with the conſent † and approbation of the admiral, who, free from all ſuſpicion, had eaſily acquieſced in the plauſible reaſon Charles gave him for this order. It required not much ſearch on the part of the duke of Guiſe, to find one willing and fit to make the treacherous attempt to aſſaſſinate Coligni. Louvriers Maurevel, already infamous for the murder of la Mouy, at Niort, ſeemed not only to be marked out, but to have been ſet apart for this criminal undertaking. Aſſiſted as he was with direction and counſel by the Guiſes, it was not difficult for him to fix upon the place and time proper for executing the villainy. The admiral, who was almoſt every day at the Louvre, had, in returning to his lodgings, to paſs by the Cloiſter of the church St. Germain de l'Auxerrois. At this place, within the houſe of Ville Mur, one of the canons who had been preceptor to the duke of Guiſe, Maurevel had choſe his ſtation; the low window of the chamber that looked to the ſtreet being covered with a piece of thin cloth. After being at the council table in the morning of the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, and having parted with the king in the Tennis Court, Coligni walked home,

† Matthieu. ibid. p. 342.

attended

attended by a few of his friends. His pace being ſlow*, while he read a paper that was preſented to him on the way, the aſſaſſin had time to take his aim and diſcharge his arquebuſs, loaded with two bullets; one of which tore the finger of his right-hand, and the other lodged deep in his left-arm. While all who attended him were ſtruck with amazement, he calmly pointed out the window from whence the ſhot came; and having directed Piles and Monnins to go and acquaint the king with what had happened to him, and got his arm bound up, he proceeded on foot, ſupported by his domeſtics to his quarters. To ſome who expreſſed their apprehenſion that the balls might be poiſoned, he ſaid, with perfect compoſure, "Nothing will befal me but what is the pleaſure of God." When he was in the hands of the ſurgeons, the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé came into his chamber, he made no exclamation either of reſentment or of impatience from the pain he ſuffered, but ſaid only, "this is the fruit of my reconciliation with the Guiſes." Ambroſe Pare, the king's firſt ſurgeon, fearing a gangrene from his ſhattered finger, thought it neceſſary to have it wrenched off. The forceps made uſe of being too blunt for the operation, it was thrice attempted before it could be performed; while Coligni endured the painful ſenſation of it, and of the extraction of the bullet from his arm, with undiſturbed looks, and an admirable conſtancy †. Upon the rumour of the atrocious deed being ſpread through the city, marks of the general ſurprize, of the trepidation and anxiety of great numbers of people, and of the abhorrence of it which others felt, were plainly diſcoverable. Many who did not favour Coligni or the proteſtants, joined in deteſting an action, which appeared manifeſtly to inſult the public

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* Thuan. p. 1048. D'Aubigne, ibid.

† Thuan. ibid.

faith

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faith and the king's honour, and to throw open again the channel of thoſe feuds and enmities which had proved ſo fatal to the peace of the kingdom. Charles, who was informed of it, while he was engaged in a match at the Tennis Court with the duke of Guiſe, ſeemed to be hurried into a violent rage; which he expreſſed by throwing down his racket and exclaiming, "Shall I never have peace? Shall I always have new broils*?" Thoſe hiſtorians who alledge, that the admiral by his addreſs had gained upon the king, and induced him to prefer his advice to that of the queen mother, inſiſt upon the ſudden extaſy into which Charles was thrown, as a proof of their aſſertion. They repreſent it as the eruption of a real paſſion, which could not inſtantly be ſo well feigned; and was further evinced by the duke of Guiſe's immediate retreat from Charles; who, in the hurry of paſſion, retired to the Louvre, ſwearing he would find out the aſſaſſin where-ever he lurked. There is nothing however in this appearance made by Charles, but what might be expected from him, upon the attempt made to deſtroy the admiral being publicly announced to him, though he was not ignorant of the deſign and contrivance with reſpect to it. A degree of agitation naturally excited from the intereſting intelligence, would enable him to perform his part more to the life. As to Maurevel, though the ſtreet-door of the houſe where he was concealed was ſoon forced open by the admiral's attendants, he had fled by the poſtern; and having a freſh horſe prepared for him at the gate St. Antoine, made his eſcape out of the city. At firſt it was unknown who was the aſſaſſin, but a ſufficient diſcovery of him was ſoon made.

and eſcapes.

* Memoires de Villeroy, de Tavannes, &c.

If the blow aimed at the admiral's life, appeared to many of the catholics to portend the eruption of further enmity and outrage; it was judged by the proteſtant chiefs to be an open attack upon their perſonal ſafety. The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, with ſeveral of their followers, having repaired to the Louvre, repreſented to the king the horrid proof now given them, of the unprovoked and fearleſs rage of their enemies; from which, ſince the near awe of his preſence and of the whole court could not defend them, they implored his majeſty to give them leave to retire from Paris. Charles prepared for this declaration, made his utmoſt effort to frame his anſwer in a tone correſpondent to it, and by execrable oaths, and the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of indignation, to convince them how deeply affected he was with the commiſſion of the crime, and how reſolutely bent upon puniſhing every one that might be found acceſſary to it, as well as the perpetrator *. By aggravating every circumſtance of the villainy, having teſtified to the princes his reſentment of it, he concluded with aſſuring them, that the inquiry and acts of juſtice he would inſiſt upon, ſhould be ſuch as might be exemplary in the ſtate, and fully ſatisfy them and the admiral, who was the ſufferer; adding, that it was fit they ſhould ſtay in Paris to be witneſſes of his procedure. The queen mother then took up the ſubject, and ſhewing no leſs animoſity, declared, that after ſuch an inſtance of inſolent rage, the king himſelf was not ſafe from an aſſault in his palace, and that all poſſible means ought to be uſed to puniſh with ſignal ſeverity, thoſe who were guilty of ſo daring a crime. In the mean time, all the gates of Paris, except two for the conveyance of proviſions, had been ordered by the king to be ſhut, that the aſſaſſin might not eſcape.

Incenſed at the outrage,

the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé aſk leave to depart from Paris;

* D'Aubigne, ibid. liv. i. chap. 3.

Commiſſioners

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Commiſſioners of the parliament were appointed to examine a woman and a boy found in Villemur's houſe, and to enquire ſtrictly into what they knew, or could be otherways diſcovered about the fact; and to ſignify in the moſt public manner the king's utter deteſtation of it, letters were diſpatched to the provincial commanders, acquainting them with his majeſty's great concern for what had happened to the admiral, and deſiring them to let it every where be known, that it was his purpoſe to execute the moſt ſpeedy and rigorous juſtice with regard to it. By this deportment of Charles and queen Catherine, to which all preſent in the court adapted their language; the princes and their attendants were left without a reply, and withdrew, if not thoroughly contented, at leaſt perſuaded of the ſincerity of the king's declarations; and ſo far pacified, that they inſiſted no longer upon their reſolution of departing from Paris.

but are quieted by Charles's declarations.

Next to thoſe ſpecious appearances which were made by the court, the admiral's own ſingular compoſure and intrepidity contributed to abate the impreſſions of reſentment and jealouſy, conceived in the minds of many of the proteſtants, when they ſaw him, who had been long their head and conductor, contrary to the moſt ſolemn faith, inſidiouſly aſſaulted and mangled, and in great danger of his life. While the phyſicians yet ſpoke doubtfully about the cure, and declared he could not with ſafety be tranſported from his lodging, he was viſited by the marſhals de Coſſe, Damville and Villars, and other catholic chiefs. Though ſome of them had ſolicited him to come to Paris, he entertained them with no reflections upon the infelicity of that reſolution which had brought him into his preſent ſituation. As they knew his maſculine temper, and by way of friendly ſalutation had ſaid, that they came not

The admiral is viſited by ſome of the courtiers;

not to exhort him to fortitude, who had ſo much of the natural habit of it. "In reality, ſaid he, with a chearful look, I am not afraid of dying; and ſhall have no reluctance when God requires my life to ſurrender it to the giver." Upon his expreſſing his earneſt deſire to have ſome diſcourſe with the king, Damville undertook to bear this requeſt to his majeſty. Inſtead of a private conference, which Coligni intended, it became rather a public one; by Charles's coming accompanied by queen Catherine, his two brothers, and ſeveral of the principal nobles of the court, who were all admitted into the admiral's chamber. It is the general opinion of the hiſtorians, that Catherine was afraid to truſt her ſon alone in the interview, leſt what Coligni might ſuggeſt to him ſhould have influence to ſhake or alter his reſolution; and it is doubtful whether an opportunity was taken by the admiral to ſpeak to him in ſecret *. But from what paſſed openly in converſation, which ſeveral hiſtorians have recorded, it appears, that as upon other occaſions, Charles and Coligni ſuſtained their different characters; the plain honeſty and truth which dictated the words of the one, forming a contraſt to the affected condolence and evaſion of the other †. The admiral ſoon turning the ſubject from himſelf, entered into ſome expoſtulation with reſpect to what had befallen Genlis's party in Flanders, which he imputed to a diſcovery of the ſecrets of the cabinet, and mentioned ſome late contraventions of the edict of toleration; and gave his opinion upon each of theſe points, with that candour and firmneſs which was natural to him. The king having declared, that he thought him no leſs faithful and zealous for his ſervice than he was brave, and aſſured him of his anxious care to maintain the edict of peace; interrupted the con-

and, having deſired to ſee the king,

Charles comes to a conference with him.

* Ibid. † Matthieu, ibid.

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verſation by obſerving, that he ſpoke too long and warmly in the preſent caſe of his wounds, and concluded it with ſwearing vehemently to revenge the injury he ſuffered as committed againſt himſelf. With a curioſity befitting his unfeeling temper, he turned to one of the domeſtics, who ſtood at the door, and deſired to ſee the bullet that was taken out of the admiral's arm. He then aſked whether much blood had flowed from his wounds, and if Coligni had uttered doleful cries from his ſenſation of the ſharp pain.

Feigning anxiety for the admiral's ſafety,

BEFORE the king and his attendants withdrew from viſiting the admiral, a propoſal had been made by ſome of them about carrying him to the Louvre, which the phyſicians pronounced to be too hazardous an experiment. The diſpoſition of the people of Paris to raiſe a tumult, was the reaſon aſſigned for this motion. As all the proteſtant chiefs, as well as the admiral, were concerned in this danger, which, after what had happened, was the more to be dreaded; a general conſultation was held among them about providing for their common ſafety. A variety of adverſe reports formerly ſpread, and other more recent ones being thrown out at the meeting, the Vidame of Chartres and ſeveral others inſiſted, that they had ſufficient warning to make them remove out of the city, to ſome place of more ſecurity *. But this reſolution was oppoſed by Teligni, who uſed many arguments for their ſtay, that prevailed with the majority. Yet the hazard of a popular commotion being too apparent to be deſpiſed, a meſſage was ſent in the admiral's name to the king, informing him, that the temper of the Pariſians, which was always violently biaſſed againſt him and his friends, appeared now to be ſuch, that ſome more than ordinary caution was neceſſary to prevent their breaking out into ſedition;

* Thuan. p. 1050.

and

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and the appointment of a guard about his lodgings was propoſed as a proper expedient. With the utmoſt readineſs did the king and the duke of Anjou conſent to a motion, which, by affording an opportunity to ſecure the perſon of the admiral, coincided with their ſecret machinations. Coſſeins, captain of the king's guard *, attached to the duke of Guiſe, was ordered to take his ſtation with a pickt company before the admiral's houſe; and to divert ſuſpicion, a few Swiſs of the king of Navarre's body guard were intermixed with them. Further advantage was yet taken of this injudicious requeſt. It was deſired by the king, that for the better protection of the admiral, the proteſtant nobility ſhould be all lodged in the houſes adjacent to his quarters. The city officers were appointed to provide room for them, and mark out the range of their lodgings; and public proclamation was made, prohibiting all catholics, under pain of death, to approach them. By ſuch procedure, the purpoſe of the court to ſacrifice the bulk of the proteſtant gentry along with Coligni, ſeems plainly evinced; and the inattention or blind ſecurity of the latter is not more palpable than the method that was uſed for collecting them together for deſtruction. Some new ſuſpicions and claims ariſing among them, a ſecond deliberation was entered upon, about their retiring from the city; but Teligni ſtill adhering to his opinion, and two princes aſſenting to the reaſon he advanced, it had the ſame iſſue as the former one. The Vidame of Chartres, the count of Montgomery and others, who urged a departure, had the more hopes of prevailing, as the admiral was judged to be in ſuch a condition, that he might be carried in a litter without danger †. But this chieftain expreſſed himſelf upon the occaſion in a manner that was wor-

Charles grants a guard for his lodgings,

and deſires the proteſtant nobility to quarter around them.

* D'Avila, ibid.

† Matthieu, ibid.

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thy of his magnanimity, then indeed unhappily exerciſed; and fully verifies the account given of his temper and reſolution after the peace, and his acceſſion to the court. "By a retreat, ſaid he, I muſt diſcover either my fear or my diſtruſt. By the one my honour would ſuffer, and by the other an injury be done to the king. I ſhould be again forced to have recourſe to a civil war; and my choice is to die rather than to behold the miſeries I have ſeen, and endure the diſtreſſes I have already ſuſtained." The conference about quitting Paris being thus reſumed, the Vidame of Chartres and many others of his opinion, having declared their fixed reſolution to retire to the ſuburbs; intelligence of the debate among them, and of the uncertainty how it might conclude, was carried to the queen mother, by one of the proteſtant chiefs, ſuppoſed to be Bouchavannes, on account of his intimacy with her. Underſtanding from this information how critical the ſeaſon of action was, ſhe bent all her thoughts and endeavours to bring matters in the ſecret council to a final and ſpeedy iſſue.

While the proteſtant chiefs ſtill hold ſome debate about their ſtay in the city,

Instead of admitting, according to ſome of the hiſtorians, that the queen mother was furniſhed from the reſentful and menacing language and behaviour of the proteſtant chieftains, with a particular motive and argument to conſpire and promote their deſtruction, it may be rather preſumed that the calm temper ſhewn by the admiral, the two princes, and moſt part of their friends, proved a diſappointment and an obſtacle to her meaſures. It is certain, that ſhe feigned a great apprehenſion of their reſentment, and made uſe of the information ſhe pretended to have of their ſpeeches and councils, to perſuade Charles that they breathed nothing but revenge for the admiral's wounds *. It was ſaid, that having now

a ſecret council is called by Charles,

* Matthieu. ibid.

hopes

hopes of being cured in a ſhort time, that chieftain would be diſpoſed to retaliate for his ſufferings by a new war. Charles, though a chief agent in all the perfidy uſed, and the ſtratagems laid againſt the proteſtant chiefs, had never yet declared to his confidents what length he meant to go in bloodſhed; and from a wildneſs of temper natural to him, and which the ferocity of his project increaſed, had ſometimes ſpoke and behaved to Catherine in a way that rendered her ſuſpicious of his final reſolution. Upon this account ſhe now puſhed him with thoſe irritating arguments, to call together ſuch as were admitted to the ſecret of his deſign, and propoſe, that ſince the reſolved death of the admiral could not be accompliſhed without the perdition of all the chiefs of his party, he and they ſhould ſhare one and the ſame fate. The confidents, with whom marſhal de Tavannes was joined, becauſe of a late quarrel he had with Coligni, were immediately aſſembled. The bloody propoſition was made to them, who yet were not all prepared for it. One of them *, who there is moſt ground to believe was the count de Retz, contrary to what was expected from him, is ſaid to have made a pathetic oration againſt it. Whether from apprehenſion that the chief odium of the atrocious deed might be thrown upon him who was a foreigner; or diſappointed that the more artificial ſcheme of inſtigating the duke of Guiſe and his adherents to make an inſurrection, was departed from; the repreſentation he gave of the execrable nature, and dreadful conſequences of the action, the very mention of which he ſaid was ſufficient to excite horror, made ſuch impreſſion as to ſilence thoſe who were diſpoſed to it. The king himſelf ſeemed to yield the point, and the council broke up: but the queen mother reſuming the argument with Charles,

* Matthieu, ibid. Compared with the phyſician Miron's account of the maſſacre, inſerted p. 371.

declared,

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declared, that he might look upon the hour in which the matter before them was brought to ſuch a concluſion, as the laſt of his reign; and that ſince what had been in agitation would be quickly diſcloſed, the Hugonots would fly from Paris, and betake themſelves to arms, and return in a capacity to beſiege him in the Louvre. Charles often perplexed and deſultory in his reſolutions, and in every arduous caſe overawed by queen Catherine, obeyed her dictates. He called back his counſellors from the gate, and told them, that there was an end of his government, unleſs what had been propoſed ſhould be agreed upon; and that he held ſuch as diſapproved the meaſure to be diſloyal. His vehemence and his imprecations had a ſtronger effect than arguments; and none preſumed to object to his will *. The reſolution being formed, and the view of making the Guiſes bear the reproach of the maſſacre retained, it was next conſidered whether the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé ſhould be comprehended in it. So little regard was then paid to the blood of France, that this bore ſome debate; and the latter of thoſe princes was not without much ſcruple exempted from the intended carnage. Such is the moſt probable explication of the ſecret counſels about the maſſacre of Paris; the progreſs of which, as well as the original ſcheme, is variouſly repreſented by the hiſtorians. In it we have chiefly joined together the accounts of Matthieu and de Thou, which are not inconſiſtent, though all the ſame circumſtances be not mentioned by each of them.

who is wrought upon by the queen mother,

to form a final reſolution for immediate vengeance.

The meaſures already taken facilitated the execution of the hideous enterprize, which it was agreed ſhould commence next day, which was the feaſt of St. Bartholomew. Some additions to

* Thuan. D'Aubigne, ibid.

the

1572. The nightbefore the 24th of Auguſt, preparations are made for the maſſacre.

the train of ſtratagems that had been practiſed were only neceſſary to complete the whole ſcheme. The duke of Guiſe, whoſe retreat from the court after the admiral was wounded, together with the king's affected indignation againſt him, had been made uſe of to deceive the proteſtants, was again called upon to act his part *. A perſon ſuſpected of being privy to the attempt upon Coligni, and who was found to be one of Guiſe's domeſtics, being taken up; the duke, and Aumale his brother, and others of the family, preſented themſelves before the king, and complained of the falſe accuſations and calumnies propagated againſt them, and craved his majeſty's permiſſion to withdraw altogether from the court, where they found his uſual favour to them abated. Charles's cold and ſurly reception of them was immediately reported to Teligni and the admiral. In the mean time, to irritate the populace, a report was ſpread through the city, that the king had ſent for the marſhal Montmorency from Chantilly, whither he had retired after his arrival from England, and that he was expected in Paris with a large body of horſe to quell the citizens. Their agitation and concourſe every where in the ſtreets became perceptible, while loads of arms and bands of ſoldiers that paſſed to the Louvre provoked their commotions. The king of Navarre was told by Charles, with the utmoſt ſhew of amity and confidence, that in the ſtate in which things were, it was neceſſary to be on their guard againſt the turbulence of the people, and that it was fit not only that he ſhould keep all his his domeſtics about him in the Louvre; but call others of his moſt truſty attendants to lodge there in caſe of any perturbation. Teligni, who heard various alarming reports, interpreted every thing favourably, concealed part of what he learned from the admiral, and confirmed him in his fatal ſecurity. After Coſſein's guard was doubled

* Ibid.

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about his houſe, and the hours of the night were far advanced, the duke of Guiſe having permiſſion from the king, called ſome captains of the Swiſs and French companies of guards, and intimated to them, "that the hour † was come, in which the king was determined to avenge himſelf of a race of men, odious to God and his church, and offenſive to human ſociety; that a ſmall exertion of their obedience and courage was neceſſary to this atchievement, which would accompliſh what many battles had not done." He then ordered them to range their ſoldiers on both ſides of the palace, and ſuffer none of the princes of Bourbon's ſervants to paſs without the gates; which laſt injunction was alſo intimated to Coſſeins and his diviſion of ſoldiers. Charron, preſident of the chamber of accounts, and lately admitted to the office of Prevôt des Marchands, was next ſought out by him, and a command delivered to him to aſſemble the officers of the train-bands in the town-hall; and having iſſued orders for arming their people, to wait there for further inſtructions. The late Prevôt Marſhal, whom the queen mother, for the ſake of raiſing the opinion of his credit with the king, had often called to the Louvre, was alſo employed in the ſame commiſſion: by him the import of the king's order, and of the duke of Guiſe's directions, was communicated to the Echevins and Burgeſſes. They were told, "that it was his majeſty's will and decree to make one utter extirpation of the rebellious Hugonots, againſt whom they had now full liberty to uſe their arms; that orders would be immediately diſpatched for having the ſame execution done, in the other cities of the kingdom, to which the Pariſians ought to ſet an example, by ſparing none, or concealing any of the impious tribe; that, to avoid confuſion, and to diſtin-

which the duke of Guiſe undertakes to manage,

in concert with the magiſtrates of the city.

† D'Aubigne, ibid. chap. 4. De Serres, p. 749.

guiſh

guiſh themſelves from their adverſaries, ſleeves of white linen ſhould be wore on their left arms, and croſſes of the ſame in their hats; and torches and lanthorns be lighted every where in the windows of their houſes, and that they ought to proceed quietly, and avoid tumultuary noiſe, until the ſignal to begin their work was heard, by the ſounding of the great bell of the palace clock." In this manner were both the regular troops and the militia of the city wards, prepared for the maſſacre, by the management of the duke of Guiſe and his emiſſaries. They alike received theſe orders, and put themſelves in the poſture to execute them, as if they had reſpected an armed enemy come to aſſault the city. It was now the dead hour of midnight, when they took their different ſtations, and the files of ſoldiers formed various ambuſhes in the ſtreets and croſs-ways, watching for the expected ſignal to fall with fury upon the proteſtants; who, unſuſpicious and unguarded, in the ſecure ſeaſon of repoſe, took no alarm, had no ſpies abroad, and were far from apprehending that in a great city, the reſidence of the king and court, their death ſhould be conſpired, and their deſtroyers muſtered up in form, without any deſigned or accidental diſcovery being made of the ſavage plot.

The queen mother having animated Charles to vengeance,

The queen mother in the mean time watched the looks and emotions of the king her ſon, in whom the ſpirit of barbarity operated by fits, and at times gave way to tremor and irreſolution. As the horrid hour drew nigh, ſhe ſaw him turn pale, and a cold ſweat cover his face, while the confederate aſſaſſins waited his laſt order. In thoſe conflicts he had with humanity and a ſenſe of ſhame, ſhe knew by frequent practice, how to touch his choleric

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temper, and render paſſion and fury predominant. "Shall * the occaſion, ſaid ſhe, that God preſents, of avenging the obdurate enemies of your authority, be let ſlip by your want of courage? How much better is it to tear in pieces thoſe corrupt members, than to rankle the boſom of the church, the ſpouſe of our Lord?" His eyes glared with rage, and the mandate was pronounced in theſe terms; "Go on then, and let none remain to reproach me with the deed." Having thus obtained her aim, Catherine anticipated the fixed hour of the ſignal; which was given by the ringing of the bell of the church of St Germain de Auxerrois. The duke of Guiſe immediately iſſued forth with a ſelect party to perpetrate the murder of the admiral, which it was determined ſhould precede every act of the tragical affair. Some proteſtants diſturbed by the noiſe, had come into the ſtreets, and mixing with the concourſe of people about the palace, where the lamps were lighted, and the guards drawn up in lines, enquired what was the meaning of the unſeaſonable parade? Preſſing forward, notwithſtanding ſome frivolous anſwers, and rude repulſes, that were given them; the piſtol ſhots diſcharged againſt them, were heard in the palace by the king, the queen mother, and their attendants. Terror again ſhook the reſolution of Charles; and this prelude of the bloody ſcene cauſed the breaſt of Catherine to throb with unuſual dread and anxiety. A meſſage was diſpatched to countermand the duke of Guiſe, which ſhe well knew would come too late and be diſregarded. Already he had beſet the admiral's lodgings, the gate of which being ſhut, and guarded, would have required ſome time to have forced it open; but Coſſeins having called in the king's name to be admitted, la Bonne who kept the keys, dreading nothing,

* Matthieu, p. 373. Thuan. 105. D'Aubigne, ibid.

gave

gave him entrance, and was preſently ſtabbed. Some of the king of Navarre's Swiſs ſoldiers flew to the inner gate, and endeavoured to barricade it. The confuſed noiſe awaked the admiral; who, unuſed to apprehenſion, believed it to be only ſome riot of the populace, which the guard would ſoon quell. But the clamour increaſing, and ſeveral ſhots being fired in the court, he roſe from his bed and covered himſelf with his night-gown, and ſoon was convinced by the hurry of his attendants towards his chamber that the worſt was to be feared. Being few, and moſt of them only domeſtics, their pale looks and trembling geſtures denounced the immediate fate they expected. "This inſtant, cried one of them, God calls us to meet death." "It is enough, ſaid Coligni, that I know it." He leaned for ſome moments againſt the wall, while the miniſter Merlin prayed. Then with a countenance that bore not one feature of diſmay, but collected the dignity of the reſpectful warrior's aſpect, "Away, ſaid he, my friends; ſave yourſelves, if poſſible. Now I have no need of your help; to that of God I have commended my ſoul. But let not your unprofitable ſtay be mourned by your wives and children, as a ſad infelicity, occaſioned by your attendance upon my exit." All but two of them, who would not quit the chamber, fled into the upper rooms of the houſe. In a little ſpace the door was burſt open. A group of ſix or ſeven grim cavaliers, in arms, preſented themſelves. Beſme, a German, ſtept before the reſt, and flouriſhing his ſword, exclaimed, "Art thou Coligni?" "I am he," replied the admiral*, with a voice and look unchanged: "and you young ſoldiers ſhould have reſpect to thoſe my gray hairs. But come on, ſaid he to Beſme, do what thou wilt, thou canſt ſhorten my life but a little."

the b'oody ſcene commences with the ſlaughter of the admiral.

* Matthieu, p. 345. Thuan. D'Aubigne. De Serres. D'Avila, ibid.

Book VI. 1572. He received the ſword into his breaſt, and the redoubled ſtrokes upon his face, without ſhrinking back; and fell by repeated ſtabs, without uttering a groan. The executioners themſelves were ſtruck at the invincible intrepidity of his ſpirit; and Attin, who was one of them, declared, that never could a man be ſeen to brave ſuch a death with ſo much magnanimity. His body was thrown from the window into the court-yard; where the duke of Guiſe waited impatiently to behold this ſacrifice laid at his feet. Having, to know the face, wiped off the blood from it, he cried out in an exulting tone, "We have well begun, my friends, let us go on to do the reſt with courage; it is the king's command we obey." Immediately the alarm bell of the palace was rung, and the populace were rouſed to ſpread the maſſacre. Their firſt rout was towards the admiral's quarter, whoſe body being found by them, it was maimed, gored, and dragged through the kennels, and after ſerving at intervals as the paſtime of their fury, for two days was hung upon the gibbet of Montfaucon. But neither the butchery of Coligni, nor the indignities done to his dead carcaſs, as ſays † le Gendre, have availed in the leaſt to diminiſh his juſt renown, or tarniſh the merit of a character illuſtrious for thoſe qualities and virtues, which have formed the heroes and the patriots of all nations. As the bones of Coligni, half conſumed with fire, were, in a dark night, cut from the chain that ſuſpended them, carried off from the abuſes and inſults of the rabble, and preſerved in the vault of the Montmorencies at Chantilli, and afterward placed with honour in the family one of Chattillon; ſo hiſtory in ſpite of prejudice, and in ſpite of popular malignity, has done juſtice to his reputation; and placed it in that light, as to make true French-

† Tom. i. p. 198.

men

men ſenſible both of the greatneſs of his mind and of his worth, and to abhor, amidſt the ignominious deluge of blood which St. Bartholomew coſt France, the treacherous ſlaughter of one of the moſt illuſtrious of their countrymen. BOOK VI. 1572.

THE rage of the maſſacre fell next on that cluſter of the proteſtant chiefs, which the perfidy of the court had drawn together, under the pretext of greater ſafety to themſelves, and protection to the admiral. How hard was the lot of thoſe gallant men, who had gone forth to ſo many encounters in the field with the courage and pride of warriors, and who had long learned to brave the greateſt dangers, where valour could be exerted, and honour acquired. But their armour was not now fitted upon them, and ſcarce any of them were allowed to graſp their ſwords. In bed, or half naked, they were aſſaulted by mercileſs bands of cut-throats; who ſtabbed them, hewed them to pieces, threw them down from windows, or drove them to miſerable and unavailing flight. Few of them in thoſe circumſtances could die like Coligni. Overwhelmed by the unexpected horror and cruelty of the barbarous ſcene, the faces and aſpects of many of thoſe brave men were ſeen disfigured with diſtreſs, as well as deformed with the brutal wounds they received. In this manner the count de Rochefoucault was the ſurprized victim of the aſſaſſin *. He had paſſed the late hours of night with the king at the Louvre, where the pleaſant ſallies of his wit and facetious humour had entertained the courtiers, and diſpoſed Charles to ſave him. Believing, when he who led the murdering party knocked at his door, and ſaid he had a meſſage to the count from the king, that it was ſome frolic intended by his majeſty, he opened

And is followed by that of the proteſtant chiefs, that lodged near his abode.

* Brantome, tom. iv. p. 10.

it;

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it; and ſpoke in a humourous ſtrain to thoſe who anſwered him by drawing forth their poniards, and making him feel the dire effects of their implacable rage. Teligni, unſuſpicious to the laſt, endeavouring now to gain ſome lurking place, by paſſing along the roofs of the houſes, was ſpied, and could not eſcape. The ſweet engaging form which nature had given him, ſtruck, even in this dejection of his graceful mien, his ſavage aſſailants. They ſtood with looks of ſuſpenſe before they gave him the fatal blow. Sharers, at the ſame time, in much the ſame fate, were the counts de Renel, and de Quellence, and the barons de Lavardin, Beaudiſne, and Pluviaut, and others of celebrated valour, driven defenceleſs through the ſtreets by the duke of Anjou's guards; who revenged upon them their military renown, by marking them with ghaſtly wounds, and purſuing ſeveral of them till they fell bleeding and breathleſs ſpectacles, in the view of the windows of the Louvre †; where not only the king's attendants, but the women of queen Catherine's retinue, unreſtrained either by humanity or ſhame, ſurveyed their dead bodies, and ſeemed to behold nothing ſhocking or diſgraceful in the barbarous fight.

WHAT paſſed within the walls and at the gates of the palace, was no leſs horrid. Every part of the ſcene teſtified the fury of a monarch, who, though never in the field of battle, had a natural violence in his temper that hurried him on to cruelty, as an exertion of courage; and ‡ who, having found his will and authority often reſiſted, took the moſt perfidious and brutal courſe of ſhewing himſelf arbitrary. The two princes of his blood, whoſe lives it had been agreed ſhould be ſpared, had little reaſon for ſome time to

† Thuan. p. 1053. ‡ Brantome, ibid. p. 8. Sully, liv. i.

believe

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believe the palace would be a ſanctuary to them. Awaked by the ruſhing of ſoldiers into their chambers, they were commanded to attend the king without putting on their ſwords. Their gentlemen in waiting were ſeized, and immediately butchered in the lobbies and ſtairs, through which they paſſed. They were by Catherine's orders led the longeſt way through the vaults and dark entries; while the files of guards ſhook their ſpears, and handled their arms in a menacing way. Then was the king of Navarre's manly heart made ſenſible to the impreſſions of fear, which the aſſurances given him by the captain of the guards did not diſſipate. In the mean time, the cries heard by them without doors were diſmal and terrifying; while all that party of their friends and followers, who were invited to lodge in the apartments of the Louvre, were precipitated from the windows, or dragged forth in crowds to be aſſaſſinated in the court yards. Here St. Martin, Pardaillan, Beauvois, and the brave Piles, with many others, ſuffered death; while the indignant expreſſions of the laſt, as he looked on the heap of his butchered companions were heard aloud in theſe terms: "Are thoſe the teſtimonies of the faith of the king, of the peace he hath ſworn, and of all the gracious promiſes he hath made! But the almighty God will revenge ſuch monſtrous perfidy *." Leiran, bloody and deſperately wounded, found his way into the queen of Navarre's chamber, and threw himſelf upon her bed; ſhe run forth ſcreaming, at the firſt ſight of the bloodſhed, and met with ſuch objects in her way, as made her fall into fits; from which ſhe was with difficulty recovered, and conducted by Nanſey, the captain of the guards, into the apartment of the dutcheſs of Lorain. Her huſband and the prince of Condé, who ſhe

* Matthieu, p. 346. Sully, ibid. P. Daniel, p. 972.

was

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was assured were safe in the king's chamber, had been introduced thither. The wild visage and looks of Charles were sufficient to inspire them with new terror. His accent and tone were no less fierce and imperious. "To day, said he, I revenge myself of my enemies; and such I may justly reckon you to be, who have supported them by the authority of your names, and your presence among them. Nothing but a respect to my blood hinders me from conjoining you in their punishment. But this regard hath its conditions. When I pardon your past conduct, I require and insist on your immediate renunciation of that impious faith which contradicts mine, and teaches you to affront heaven, and insult my authority." The king of Navarre's answer was given in a low and embarrassed voice, but in terms that promised submission. But the prince of Condé spoke out in a manner which testified discontent with the violence used with them. He complained of the breach of honour in this treatment, and declared that his fear of death was not so great, as to render him an apostate from his religion. Charles provoked to higher indignation, called him obstinate, seditious, a rebel and the son of a rebel; and threatened that he should suffer the death of a traitor, if in three days he did not yield obedience. "Remember, said he, with a look of merciless rage, It is *Mass*, *Death*, or *Bastile*." Upon the apparent compliance † of the king of Navarre, Charles granted him the lives of the count de Grammont, de Duras, and Bouchavannes, and a few others were saved at the earnest application of his sister of Navarre.

and threatened in case they did not abjure their heresy.

But the populace, let loose and armed to acts of cruelty, shewed themselves transformed into barbarians, and capable of equalling

† D'Avila, ibid.

the

the rage and ferocity of the moſt ſavage animals. As if they had needed an inſtigation, the duke of Nevers, and the marſhal de Tavannes, called them aloud in the ſtreets, to ſatiate themſelves with the blood and plunder of thoſe peſtilential heretics; who, they ſaid, had formed a conſpiracy againſt the lives of the king, his brothers, and the queen mother, and even the king of Navarre himſelf, which had been critically detected. Monpenſier, to teſtify his innate hatred of heretics, is alſo ſaid to have joined in this ſanguinary outcry. The ſpirit of barbarity contagiouſly indulged among thoſe of higher rank, maddened in the breaſts of the people. Wherever the ruffian bands of them were led by the city officers, they ruſhed like furies, and marked their track with violence, bloodſhed, and brutality. The doors of houſes being burſt open, the tender ſex, the infants and the aged, ſtood pale and trembling before them, but met with no mercy *. Briou, venerable as age with honour, and locks white like ſnow, could make him, was employed in the office of preceptor to the prince of Conti. The aſſaſſins ſurrounded him, while his pupil yet in childhood hung about his neck. The tender hands of Conti were turned againſt the daggers; and then claſped to his body pierced with mortal wounds. Nonpar de Caumont was taken as he lay in bed with his two ſons. With many ſtabs, an end was put to his life, and that of one of them. But the father's body and the brother's covering the other, and diſguiſing him with their blood, he was left as ſlain, till in a proper hour he implored aſſiſtance, and made a miraculous eſcape. Briſſonnet, the niece of the biſhop of Meaux, and the widow of a maſter of requeſts, a matron admired for manners and capacity, had ſchemed an eſcape out of the city. Dreſſed in an old gown,

The rage of the people being excited to an execrable pitch.

* D'Aubigne, ibid. Thuan. ibid.

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with her young daughter in her hand, and followed by Epina the miniſter, in the habit of a domeſtic, ſhe was unhappily ſtopt, and known by the hunters of the proteſtants. Having refuſed to abjure her religion, ſhe was ſtabbed with iron rods, and thrown half alive into the river; where floating on the ſurface, the watermen purſued her as their prey, and put her to a ſlow and lingering death. But theſe are only ſome melancholy incidents in a ſcene where Croiſſel, Tanchou, Pezou and Perier glutted their bloody rage; names which cannot be wrote without horror, and whoſe execrable cruelties cannot be rehearſed without exciting a painful diſguſt of human nature! Without deſcribing thoſe ſavages in their chief ſtations upon the bridges, and at the mills, where the miſerable victims were dragged forth and put into their hands; without taking notice of the blood that flowed in rivulets, and the bodies of dead and dying that were caſt forth in heaps into the lanes and ſtreets; without marking, as ſad circumſtances attending ſuch carnage, the laſt diſpairing agonies of parents torn from the embraces of their offspring; both the extreme horror, and the diſtreſs of the promiſcuous maſſacre, is ſufficiently conceivable. Every quarter of the city reſounded with barbarous ſhouts, with the noiſe of the aſſaults and ravage of houſes; and with the conflicts of ſome catholics with others, quarrelling about their plunder; while at intervals, the exploſion of their muſkets, and the claſhing of arms were followed with the lamentable ſhrieks of the wounded, the groans of thoſe tortured to death, or the cries of deſpair. Upon the firſt noiſe of the commotion, a report was carried to that party of the proteſtant chiefs, who by the counſel of the vidame of Chartres, had choſe their quarters in the ſuburbs of St. Germain, that the populace had taken up arms. It was confirmed to them

by the ringing of the bells, and the tumultuous exclamations which they heard. Anxious and doubtful what the ground of the inſurrection might be, they continued long in ſuſpence, and from ſome perſuaſion that it was promoted by the Guiſes, againſt the will of the king, thoſe brave men were on the point of paſſing the river, in order to venture their lives in ſupporting his authority, and defending their friends. How fatal might this error have proved! With the * morning light they ſaw the boats on the river loaded with ſoldiers coming to attack them; they beheld the king himſelf firing his carabine from the windows of the Louvre upon ſome miſerable fugitives; and ſcarce did time and aſtoniſhment permit them to eſcape with precipitation from their blood-thirſty purſuers.

THE continuation of the maſſacre affords a diſmal proof of the relentleſs barbarity of the perpetrators of it. After the firſt day's outrageous ſlaughter †, in which three thouſand perſons are reckoned to have been deſtroyed; the luſt of blood did not abate, but was proſecuted with the ſame rage during the next night and the following day. The moving ſight of the effects of the carnage every where appeared without having the leaſt influence to controul it. The houſes drenched with blood and pillaged; and the chambers where havock and mute ſilence reigned as in the tombs, were again ranſacked. Into the moſt private corners an eager ſearch was made, as new informations about the retreat or concealment of Hugonots, were every hour ſpread among the populace; whoſe vengeance and fury ſeemed to grow more inſatiable from the exer-

the maſſacre is continued by them for ſeveral days,

* Brantome, ibid. p. 8. P. Daniel, p. 973.

† D'Aubigne, d'Avila, ibid.

Book VI. 1572. cife of it. Certain it is that the enraged multitude would have readily proceeded to the deſtruction of thoſe who were reputed favourers of the Hugonots, as well as of all that were known or ſuſpected to be of their religion; and the queen mother might have conſummated her ſcheme of bloodſhed, by inſtigating them to aſſault the Montmorencies, as the admiral's friends. But intimidated from executing this machination, on account of the abſence of the marſhal Montmorency, and other obvious reaſons, ſhe allowed the popular outrage to take its courſe. From the dread of it many catholics were obliged to be on their guard; and de Biron, who commanded in the arſenal, ordered two Culverins to be drawn forth to the gate, and put himſelf in a poſture of defence. Others, expoſed to the private revenge of their enemies, loſt their lives. After vaſt numbers more of the proteſtants were butchered; after various inſtances of violence and ſlaughter committed upon the catholics, and when the outrage appeared boundleſs, and when the carnage became noiſome *, an order was publiſhed by the king, requiring all the citizens to retire to their houſes, and not to ſtir from them under pain of death. What remained of further vengeance, was intended to be performed by a more regular progreſs of the king's guards through the city. But, as has been obſerved, the ſanguinary rage of the people could not be reſtrained; and the violence and plundering on the ſecond day nearly equalling thoſe of the firſt, it ſlacked only by degrees, like an impetuous conflagration, which hath its intervals, and period, only from the waſte it hath made. The deſtruction of above ſix thouſand proteſtants, of which five hundred were nobility, may be reckoned the fatal iſſue of the dreadful maſſacre.

* Thuan. p. 1056. D'Avila, ibid. P. Daniel, p. 973.

When

When viewed in all its horrid circumſtances, it muſt be allowed to have been no leſs barbarous and deteſtable, than the deſcription the French hiſtorians give of the *Sicilian Veſpers*, or any other picture that blackens, with perpetual infamy, the annals of civilized mankind. All the catholic hiſtorians of France in later times, and, except ſome of the moſt contemptible, thoſe who wrote in that age, have agreed in repreſenting the maſſacre of Paris as a moſt odious and ſhocking barbarity. "Let the memory of that day be razed from our records," ſaid de Thou, with ſenſible deteſtation of the ignominy of it. But, as a late French author obſerves, it is juſt and fit to have the authentic narrative of it tranſlated to poſterity; that mankind may ever remember, with diſguſt, the horrid effects cauſed by fanatic zeal and bigotry in a nation.

THOUGH the king had ſhewn much of his inhumane and ferocious temper, during the maſſacre, he ſtill entertained the thought of uſing a ſubterfuge to cover the infamy of it. He expected that the duke of Guiſe, willing and forward as he had been in the execution, would bear the odium of the atrocious deed, and that to ſhew a tacit confeſſion of guilt, and a dread of the king's diſpleaſure, he and his friends and partizans would immediately retire out of Paris *. In this hope it muſt be ſuppoſed, that he cauſed to be wrote, thoſe ſtrange letters patent to the governors of the provinces; in which he repreſented the maſſacre, as an unforeſeen and miſerable calamity, occaſioned by the apprehenſion the inſolent faction of the Guiſes had of the admiral's friends revenging upon them the attempt made to aſſaſſinate him; and expreſſing his great

Charles is deſirous to load the Guiſes with the maſſacre;

* Sully, Thuanus, d'Avila, ibid.

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concern for the bloodſhed, which he had endeavoured in vain to prevent; he declared it ought to be looked upon as no intended breach of the edict of peace, which he was reſolved ſhould be religiouſly obſerved. To the admiral he ſtill gave the ſtile of his couſin; and added, that he himſelf, the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, were determined to ſhare the fate of the proteſtants. To the ſame purpoſe, letters were indited and diſpatched to Switzerland, Germany, England, and other foreign ſtates. How groſs and ſuperficial was this device againſt inevitable reproach; which could not be coloured over in the firſt inſtance, and much leſs be ſupported with any credible evidence! The Guiſes having obtained their chief aim, began to be ſenſible that it was both diſhonourable and dangerous to have the load of the accuſation charged upon them; which in a future period might render them obnoxious and accountable; and poſitively refuſed to acquieſce in this determination *. The queen mother, and the duke of Anjou, conſcious of the aid they had received from them, and unwilling in ſo critical a juncture to give them offence, took their ſide, and uſed ſuch a variety of arguments in their behalf, that Charles, never able to cope with Catherine in political ſophiſtry, contrary to his immediate declarations, publiſhed both at home and abroad, was obliged to yield the point; and agree fairly to avow himſelf the author of the treacherous and ſhocking bloodſhed. Among other fictitious arguments, there was one evidently calculated to the genius of Charles, which had moſt influence upon him. It was ſuggeſted, that by the view he had given of the action, his weakneſs as a king would be apparent to foreign princes, and that it was unworthy of a ſovereign, to balance a moment, whether he would

* Sully, ibid.

chuſe

chuſe to be contemned, or hated and feared. This paſſage deſerves the more to be attended to, as it favours in ſome meaſure the opinion of ſeveral hiſtorians of the greateſt credit, that Charles, without intending a general maſſacre, had been inſenſibly, and by various artificial inſtigations puſhed on to it; and then, notwithſtanding the perſonal cruelty he had diſcovered, imagined he could acquit himſelf of the ignominy, by the arrogant confeſſions of the duke of Guiſe and his partizans, who were the principal agents. But in this fancy, if conceived by him, Charles was the dupe, both of his own credulity, and of the more artful conduct of thoſe around him. In the maſſacre *, the duke of Guiſe, after the murder of the admiral, had rather repreſſed his rage; and inſtead of acting with that fierceneſs the king did, had ſaved d'Acier, brother to the count de Cruſſol, and ſome others of the nobility. Having uſed this political lenity, while Charles had expoſed himſelf by his natural fury, the Guiſes left him now to find what pretences he could, to extenuate the infamy of a ſcene, to which they, with the aſſiſtance of queen Catherine, had chiefly prompted him.

but, upon their refuſing to bear the reproach of it,

THE manner in which Charles made the declaration of his having authorized the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, his alledged motives for it, and the form uſed in the procedure, were altogether a ſurprizing contrivance, to publiſh his falſehood and diſhonour, and to confirm and propagate the proofs of them †. He appeared in the court of Parliament attended by his two brothers, and the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, and the whole of the peers and courtiers; and ſitting in his bed of juſtice, pronounced an oration; in which, after complaining of what he had ſuffered by

he appears in the parliament,

* D'Aubigne, ibid. † Matthieu, Thuan. ibid.

the

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the many rebellions of the Hugonots, he affirmed the recent diſcovery of a conſpiracy by Coligni and their other chiefs, to deſtroy himſelf and all the royal family. Even the ſtrange fictions of the deſigned murder of the king of Navarre, and of the elevation of the prince of Condé to the throne were ſubjoined. Upon thoſe premiſes he inferred the neceſſity and juſtice of what had been done, in the way of extraordinary vengeance, by his command. The very criminal and groſs imputation upon the proteſtants, formed a confeſſion of what might be deemed requiſite, in the judgment of the world, to juſtify the barbarities exerciſed againſt them *. Though the political reaſon of ſuch utterly falſe and incredible declarations, might appear to ſome, yet the ſolemnity with which Charles denounced them, was aſtoniſhing to the greateſt part of the counſellors of parliament, and the aſſembly. To make a reply to the king, fell to the province of the firſt preſident de Thou; than whom, none entertained a higher averſion to the treacherous and ſanguinary practices of the court. But it behoved him now to diſguiſe his ſentiments, and in language diſguſtful to his heart, applaud the conduct of the king in diſſembling his reſentment, and penetrating into the ſecret deſigns of his enemies; and all the amends he could make to his own ingenuity, and his inward reſentment of the public calamity and diſgrace, conſiſted in offering his private remonſtrance to the king, for ſo far forgetting what became his dignity, as not to have ordered the public impeachment of the alledged conſpirators to precede their horrible puniſhment. As Charles, by bringing his apology for the maſſacre to the parliament, rendered the affair judicial, the regiſter of the court was not only proſtituted by the recording of it; but it

and arraigns the Hugonots with conſpiring againſt him, and the royal family.

* Ibid.

was

was thought expedient and neceſſary to introduce other formalities of juſtice, by preparing the criminal proceſs of the admiral and his chief aſſociates, and paſſing a ſentence of high treaſon againſt them. Morvilliers, though ſenſible of the prepoſterous appearance of the meaſure, is believed to have adviſed the king to it, as the only device that could be employed to give ſome ſuch colouring to the buſineſs as he ſought for; and de Thou is alſo ſaid to have aſſented to it. But ſtill even in this view of it, the abuſe of the acts of juſtice which was obvious to all, and impoſed upon none, and the forgery, the moſt abſurd and incredible proofs in a manifeſt caſe, tended only to expoſe the tranſactions of the king and his miniſters to the further reproach of calumniating thoſe * whom they had inhumanly deſtroyed. For, if there was honour in the king, or the leaſt faith in his public engagements, it was evident that no charge of treaſon could be exhibited againſt the admiral or his partizans, but what was founded on an alledged treſpaſs, poſterior to the late edict of peace; and every allegation which reſpected that period, was groundleſs and void of all probability. As Coligni's papers had been ſecured by the queen mother's orders, and brought to her; hopes were entertained of finding ſome memorial that might ſerve for an article of impeachment againſt him; but after a diligent ſcrutiny of them, the only diſcovery that could be produced, rather became an honourable teſtimony of his integrity, and of his faithful and upright procedure with the king. In a paper found in the manuſcript of his *commentaries*, which was afterwards deſtroyed by Catherine, was contained an advice to the king to grant only moderate *appenages* to his brothers; and in the brief he had drawn about the Spaniſh war, one argument omit-

* Sully, ibid.

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ted in the copy he had ſent to the king, and deſigned to be privately inſiſted upon with him, related to the evident intereſt which England had to undertake the defence of the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, and the danger that would ariſe to France by the Engliſh, her antient enemy, gaining footing in thoſe countries. To provoke the ſpleen of queen Elizabeth, who had held an intimate correſpondence with the admiral; and to incenſe the duke of Alençon at his memory, thoſe private notes were communicated to them. The anſwer made by Elizabeth and by the duke, was much the ſame. "It was manifeſt, they ſaid, whatever they might object to the admiral on account of thoſe advices, that the king had no reaſon to find fault with them, ſince they marked his attachment and zeal for his majeſty's intereſt and ſervice." Such tranſactions were worthy of the third day of the maſſacre, when the authorized bloodſhed of the proteſtants was not altogether diſcontinued *. The king, when requeſted by Pibrac the attorney-general, to paſs a formal edict upon the point, only declared he would iſſue his order about it. But the proceſs againſt the admiral and his accomplices was immediately ordered to be formed, and the arret of high treaſon, was ſoon after executed upon his effigy with all the appointed forms of infamy. A jubilee, or public thankſgiving for the happy diſcovery of the treaſonable plot of the proteſtants, was two days after proclaimed in the city; and by another edict, the day of St. Bartholomew was appointed to be annually ſolemnized by religious proceſſions.

to confirm which alledgance, the day of St. Bartholomew is appointed to be annually ſolemnized.

The orders diſpatched into the provinces upon the eve of St. Bartholomew, produced their fatal effects in moſt of the cities and

* D'Aubigne, ibid. Thuan. p. 1058. P. Daniel, p. 974.

great

great towns of the kingdom; a ſad evidence that it was not the deſtruction of the admiral, and the principal leaders of the proteſtants, but the extirpation of their whole body that was aimed at, and determined by the court! At Meaux, Orleans, Troyes, Lyons, Bourges, Rouen, and Thouloufe, and many other places, the cruelties of the Pariſian maſſacre were emulated. The commanders of the militia, the magiſtrates and the citizens being every where required to make havock of their fellow-citizens and countrymen; generally perpetrated in cold blood, and in the time of public quiet and peace, ſuch butcheries as appeared horrible in the violence and confuſion of civil war. But inſtead of inſiſting on the hiſtory of thoſe maſſacres *, infamous for the bloodſhed of thirty thouſand people, according to the loweſt computation, beſides numbers that terror drove into foreign countries; we ſhall only make mention of the names of thoſe lieutenants and commanders in the cities and provinces, who had ſpirit, and ſentiments and reſolution to diſpenſe with the execution of the barbarous mandates ſent to them; and by the exerciſe of humanity, ſaved their own honour, and as far as was poſſible to them, that of their country and of mankind, and preſerved the lives of many thouſands of their innocent countrymen, who would have periſhed without diſtinction of ſex or age. Moſt of the hiſtorians have recorded the names of ſeveral of thoſe patriots, as worthy of being ever remembered in the world. To Eleonor de Chabot, count de Charny †, it was owing that only one proteſtant was killed in the whole province of Burgundy. When the king's letters were brought by la Mole, to Claud of Savoy, count de Tende, governor of Dauphiny, he inſiſted that theſe orders, ſo contradictory to what he had received a few days before

Maſſacres are committed in the towns and provinces.

* Thuan. p. 1061. † D'Aubigne, chap. 5. Thuan. Sully, ibid.

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from his majeſty, could not proceed from him; and that he would adhere to his firſt inſtructions as moſt becoming the king. Though he died in a few days, his lenity and reſolution, being imitated by Bertrand de Semiane, lord of Gordes, proved almoſt an entire protection to the proteſtants of the province. In Auvergne, St. Heran the governor, a man trained up in the violence of the civil broils, declared when he looked upon the orders, "that they were ſuch as he could not obey, unleſs the king himſelf were preſent to give them." Tanneguy le Veneur exerted himſelf to the utmoſt to prevent the maſſacre at Rouen; but had not power to reſtrain the armed rage of the populace; and ſeveral of the deputies in the governments of the Montmorencies acting with like moderation, from a conformity to the ſentiments of their conſtituents, prevented or controuled the appointed carnage. But the reſponſe which the viſcount de Ortex, governor of Bayonne, made in writing to the king, was diſtinguiſhable above any of the reſt. "I have ſignified, ſaid he, the orders ſent from your majeſty, to the inhabitants of the town, and the troops in the garriſon. I found them all ready to act like good citizens and brave ſoldiers; not one hangman among them." After it was known by various expreſſes from the lieutenants in the provinces, what confuſions were occaſioned by the maſſacres; the edict to prohibit all inſurrections and violences was publiſhed. As in one clauſe of it *, the king's will was ſaid to be, not to derogate from the edicts of peace; and in another, that the religious aſſemblies of the proteſtants ſhould be reſtrained; ſeveral of the governors were at a loſs how to interpret the import of it, and proceeded differently, according to their particular diſpoſitions and attachments.

* Thuan. p. 1058.

CHAP. II.

Charles touched with remorse—A congratulation sent him from the court of Rome—The false accusation of the admiral's conspiracy propagated by the court—The suprizing defeat of a catholic party animated the protestants—Resolution of the Rochellers not to admit a governor into their city—Fourth war begun—Rochelle besieged—A treaty concluded with the Rochellers—Parties in the catholic army—Obstinate defence of Sancerre.

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TO have freedom and furious passions to act like barbarians, is not alone sufficient to make civilized mankind sustain this character. They must also have the gross souls and constitutions of savages, and be natively hardened as these are, against all sensations of remorse, or uneasy reflexions about the judgments of others on their actions, and every notion of fame and reputation distinct from their own ideas of it. The attainments of this constitutional ferocity, and the habits of it, is a prodigy that yet more seldom casts up among the superior and improved class of polished society, such as princes and magistrates are, who, when they venture upon the atrocious actions of savages, are inevitably exposed to suffer disquiet and perturbation from the review of their conduct. Charles, with all the violence of his temper, inflamed by a sense of rebellions against his authority, and irritated by the political ratiocinations he daily heard about the maintainance of it, by all kinds of means and expedients, found his spirits unequal to the trial they were put to by the scene of St. Bartholomew. The uneasy impressions it made upon him, were discovered by his involuntary groans, at the boastful recital of the cruelties uttered by many in his presence,

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fence *, by his complaints of the diſorder he felt in his perſon to his ſurgeon, Ambroſe Pare, and by the diſturbance of his repoſe in the night, and of his uſual tranquillity through the day. It was evident, that the exceſſive agitation into which his mind had been thrown during the time his thoughts were bent on the atrocious project, and in that of its execution, now wrought its effects, and gave a ſhock to his frame, as hurtful and pernicious as his violent exerciſes, which are reckoned to have ruined it. Finding, contrary to what he was made believe, when, with ſome horror and conſtraint, he conſented to the carnage, that the whole reflexions on the treachery and barbarity of it would be turned upon him; ſudden fits of ſtartling and diſcompoſure ſeized him; he heard voices, and ſaw ſhapes imperceptible to others, and "wiſhed that at leaſt the innocent and the infirm had been exempted from the ſlaughter." Touched with ſuch diſquiet, the verſes and ſonnets wrote in praiſe of the maſſacre could be little reliſhed by him †, though from ſome natural taſte in muſic, he is ſaid to have made it a relief from his uneaſy ſenſations. The medals of gold and ſilver, ſtruck upon the infamous occaſion, repreſented him ſitting upon his throne, with a ſword in one hand, and the emblem of juſtice in the other, with the inſcriptions, *virtus in rebelles*, and *pietas excitavit juſtitiam*. But what ſeemed moſt to ſooth and flatter the mind of Charles, ſtill more agitated than relenting, was the hope of ſeeing at leaſt one deſirable effect produced from the blood that had flowed through the kingdom, by the immediate converſion of the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé and his brother to the catholic faith. He determined to make this point ſure, and a manifeſt proof of his irreſiſtable authority. In this affair, it ſeemed, that Charles had loſt the faculty of acting without rage. He is ſaid to ‡ have called for

Charles's rage ſubſiding;

he is touched with remorſe.

* Sully, ibid. D'Aubigne, chap. 6. † Thuan. ibid. p. 1162. ‡ Thuan. p. 1064.

his

his armour and his guards, and to have been prevented from shewing himself in this attitude to the princes, by the entreaties of his royal consort. The conversion which he apprehended would still be difficult on the part of the prince of Condé, was found to be so; and it was upon this second interview, as most of the historians report, that he pronounced the emphatic menace already mentioned. A method of addressing the consciences of the princes, more suitable to their honour, was sought for, which accidentally cast up by the appearance of des Rosiers, the protestant minister of Orleans, at court; whom the fear of meeting with the fate of many of his brethren had disposed to make a recantation of his faith. As this was done publicly, and the arguments that he alledged had influence upon his conviction, were stated by him; he was judged to be the best missionary to the prince of Condé and his family. Though his motives for renouncing his principles at this time were suspicious, his reasons were at length acquiesced in by Condé, for whom it was believed a room had been already prepared in the Bastile. The princes having made the abjuration of their errors, and absolution being given them by their uncle the cardinal of Bourbon, they appeared with their families at high mass. The king and court rejoiced at this victory, as the special fruit of St. Bartholomew †. The cardinal observing that the king of Navarre had the appearance of attention and gravity while mass was performed, said to Bellievre, "Think you not that my nephew is thoroughly converted to the church?" "No, replied the other, I see plainly that he has difficulty to bear his present constraint."

But he still insists that the princes of Bourbon shall abjure their faith.

THE dispatches sent by the papal resident at Paris had informed the holy see of the general catastrophe of the heretics in the king-

† Matthieu, ibid. p. 349.

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dom of France; and that the king, both in the ſcheme and execution of it, had proved himſelf the invincible champion of the faith, and the terrible avenger of the impious generation. When the cardinal of Lorain, who had made that court his abode for a conſiderable time paſt, received his courier with the intelligence, he ordered a thouſand crowns to be paid to him. A decree immediately was framed in the conclave for a Jubilee to be celebrated throughout Chriſtendom. The blow given to the enemies of the church at Paris, and the proſperous campaigns of the duke of Alva in Flanders, were mentioned as the laudable reaſons for it *. After a proceſſion had been made to St. Mark's church, and all the cuſtomary demonſtrations of joy were given in the city, the cardinal obtained a more ſolemn and pompous repetition of them by a parade to the church of St. Lewis, where, performing maſs himſelf, he ſaid, "that the prayers and vows of Gregory XIII. and the members of the ſacred college, might now be ſeen to have produced ſtupendous effects." To expreſs the pope's congratulations to the king of France, the cardinal Urſin was appointed to take the golden crucifix, and repair with the legatine character to that court; and as if the ſeaſon for repairing every breach of the Gallican church had been come, he was inſtructed, by the advice of the cardinal of Lorain, to inſiſt for the execution of the decrees of the council of Trent. But the legate, on his arrival at Avignon, found the ſituation of affairs vaſtly different from what he had imagined it to be from the account received at Rome, and generally credited in Italy, with reſpect to the king's declarations about the motive for the maſſacre; and the contrary ſenſe, that the generality of the ſober and humane catholics, and of thoſe who foreſaw the future diſtrac-

The court of Rome ſends cardinal Urſin to congratulate the king;

* D'Aubigne, chap. 15. Thuan. ibid.

tions

tions of the kingdom, ſeemed to entertain of them. Inſtead of meeting with encouragement to pour forth the elegant harangues he had prepared upon the king's wiſe diſſimulation, and dextrous conduct, he was admoniſhed by ſome of the miniſters to expreſs himſelf with reſerve and caution upon that head *. It had been even deliberated upon, whether he ſhould be at that juncture received at court, from an apprehenſion that his ſpeeches about the maſſacres would contradict the ſtrain of the king's edicts for the protection of the proteſtants; in all which it was now aſſerted, that the conſpiracy of Coligni and their chiefs, and not a deſign of proſecuting them with indiſcriminating and mortal vengeance, had proved the motive for the havoc made at Paris; and, without his orders, extended to other cities. But the neceſſary deference to the court of Rome rendered his reception indiſpenſible, and the legate could not avoid, both publicly and in his private converſations, giving ſpecimens of premeditated eulogies on the king. Having been made to underſtand, that the deſired publication of the decrees of the council could not be then granted, and being treated with all the outward marks of honour and regard, his diſmiſſion was rather haſtened by the court; then anxious and perplext about the conduct of the public affairs both at home and abroad. It is obſervable how naturally the Italians adopted the opinion of a long concerted plot of the court of France, for deſtroying the proteſtants by the Pariſian maſſacre. Their writers derived its origin from the conference at Bayonne, and tracing the progreſs of the ſubtile counſels about it, from ſeveral fictitious circumſtances and ſtrained explications of facts, rendered the narrative, according to their manner, a complete political drama. In this taſte of hiſtory †, a

but the receiving of him rather perpiexes the court of France.

* Thuan. lib. liv. p. 1093. † D'Aubigne, ibid.

Book VI. book was now publiſhed, with the title of the *Stratagem*, by one that took the name of *Camillus Capilupus*, or the Wolf-catcher. The maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, when viewed in this production, as the effect of a ſeries of refined policy and intrigue, would become a palatable entertainment to the Italians.

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While the court yet unprepared for a conformity with the requiſitions of the holy ſee, about executing the decrees of the general council, eluded them in this manner; a ſhew was made of the diſpoſition of the generality of the nobles to ſuppreſs hereſy, and promote the eſtabliſhment of the one antient, and only true religion of the kingdom. This was done by a ſplendid and numerous meeting of the knights of St. Michael, on the Kalendar-day of their ſolemnity, in preſence of the king, a great train of courtiers, and the foreign ambaſſadors *. It was too evident, however, that the requeſts of the knights, preſented with ſuch ceremony to his majeſty, was a concerted ſcheme, and the reputation of the order was too much debaſed to make its declarations about the matter of religion of much importance, or be taken for the ſentiments of the whole catholic nobility. An addreſs was next prepared to the king of Spain, with whom Charles had lately affected to enter into hoſtilities. The news of the maſſacres had been already accepted by the duke of Alva as an atonement for the king's procedure, and the artillery of his camp before Mons had reſounded in teſtimony of the joy they gave. But in the midſt of theſe palliatives of the civil bloodſhed ſtudied by the court, and notwithſtanding the congratulations offered by the courts of Rome and Spain; Charles and his miniſters were ſufficiently ſenſible of the odium reflected upon them and the nation in general among foreign

Sept. 29.

The court, ſenſible of the odium incurred abroad, by the maſſacres,

* Thuan. p. 1070.

ſtates,

ſtates *, and of the various diſadvantages that were likely to reſult from the diſgraceful and barbarous courſe of revenge upon the proteſtants. Parties of them that eſcaped from the rage of the maſſacres had fled into Switzerland, Germany, Holland, and beyond ſeas to England, and other countries, and ſpread through many different cities and ſtates; ſuch accounts of the carnage of their brethren, and of all the treacheries and cruelties attending it, as could not fail to move univerſal commiſeration, and excite in proteſtant countries a high degree of indignation and hatred againſt the court of France. Charles's ambaſſadors at ſeveral courts, ſome of whom were men of humane principles, were expoſed to indignities, and being incapable to offer any defence or apology, wrote home plaintive memorials of the diſcredit they had incurred, and of the blemiſh of the French reputation. This general obloquy, that might at any time be reckoned diſagreeable and prejudicial to the ſtate, was rendered more ſo in the preſent juncture; when the queen mother, moved by ſome aſtrological predictions, redoubled her anxiety and pains, to have each of her younger ſons advanced to royal dignity. She not only had become of late more ſolicitous to negotiate the match of the duke of Anjou, or of the duke of Alençon with the queen of England, but had projected the conqueſt of Algiers, and the exchange of it for Sardinia with the catholic king, and even † ſent an ambaſſador to the Porte to obtain the concurrence of Selim for an eſtabliſhment of a kingdom on the coaſt of Barbary in favour of the latter. It is ſaid that the Turkiſh emperor, who upon religious arguments excuſed himſelf from complying with this propoſal, intimated to the ambaſſador, that if the king of France, who, he underſtood, had made peace with

* De Serres, p. 753. † Matthieu, p. 357. D'Aubigne, ibid.

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the proteſtants, would turn his arms to the conqueſt of Flanders, he would ſend a fleet of two hundred gallies into the Mediterranean, to promote an invaſion of Spain; which piece of intelligence arrived a few days after the Pariſian maſſacre. But the moſt hopeful ſcheme of the kind entertained by Catherine, and to which ſhe now chiefly applied herſelf, was that of procuring for the duke of Anjou the crown of Poland, expected to be preſently vacant by the deceaſe of Sigiſmund Auguſtus, the laſt of the race of the Jagellons, who had reigned in that kingdom for more than a hundred and fifty years. Full of theſe ambitious deſigns, which could not be well advanced without the concurrence and aid of foreign ſtates, and the favourable opinion they had of the merit and character of the princes of the blood of France, Catherine and her ſons perceived the neceſſity of uſing the utmoſt endeavours to diſſipate or ſoften the ſiniſter impreſſions communicated through various kingdoms, with reſpect to their motives for the cruel ſlaughter of the proteſtants. They determined to adhere to the fiction of the conſpiracy by the admiral and his aſſociates; and, though it might be deemed an ordinary and ſtale refuge, to maintain ſtrenuouſly its veracity as the moſt plauſible defence. A choice was made of men of the moſt eminent characters and reputations, to be employed in different embaſſies to the neighbouring ſtates. Beſides Monluc * already diſpatched to Poland, Schomberg, Pomponius de Bellievre, Gui de Pibrac, were appointed to go to England, Switzerland and Germany; and being furniſhed with copies of the arret of the court of parliament pronounced againſt the admiral, had inſtructions to ſhew them, and ſupport the juſt grounds of the judicial conviction they contained, with all their addreſs and eloquence.

determines to vouch and propagate the ſtory of the admiral's conſpiracy againſt the king;

* Matthieu, p. 247.

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When Briquemaut and Cavagnes, ſaved by accidents from the maſſacre, were condemned by the general arret to ſuffer the death of traitors, the former then ſeventy years old, heard his ſentence like his companion, with compoſure, till the part of it, importing his childrens forfeiture of their inheritance and rank, was read †. He then uttered a doleful exclamation; and being fettered for his execution, appeared ſtruck with the horror of the criminal verdict, and the dread of his exit; and offered, if the king would ſave his life, to give ſome uſeful informations about the reduction of Rochelle. Of this his apparent trepidation, an important advantage was propoſed to be taken, by engaging him with the promiſe of the king's pardon, to atteſt the truth of the alledged conſpiracy. But the ſentiment of honour awaking in the hoary warrior's breaſt, made him reject the infamous propoſal, and join his intrepid friend in declaring, "he would never live to load the innocent with ſo execrable a crime." The principles of ſtateſmen, even when they ſupport the beſt reputation of integrity, being deemed leſs ſtrict than thoſe of private men of honour; the envoys already named, and others, undertook to do, for the credit of the ſtate and their country, what Briquemaut could not venture upon to ſave his life. When we conſider that the preſident de Thou, Morvilliers, and others of diſtinguiſhed virtue and merit, acted in the ſame manner, it would be unjuſt to aſcribe their compliance with the unhappy ſituation of the times, deteſted or deplored in ſecret by moſt them, to ſelfiſh and intereſted motives. But for the ſake of virtue, we muſt regret the hard and unworthy taſk impoſed on ſuch men, that deſerved to have lived in a better æra, when their ſingular endowments might have been more honourably diſplayed,

for which purpoſe the envoys to foreign courts are inſtructed,

† De Serres, ibid. Thuan. p. 1070.

and

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and with more advantage and benefit to their country *. Bellievre, in a meeting of the Swiſs ſtates at Baden, pronounced a harangue conceived in ſuch ſtrong terms, as were calculated to mitigate the horror and diſguſt excited among the proteſtant cantons, by the ſight of the diſtreſſed condition of many refugees fled from ſlaughter, imploring their protection; eſpecially at Geneva, whither, among numbers of others, the two eldeſt ſons of the admiral and d'Andelot had fled, whoſe tender years added to the conſideration of the fame of their fathers, raiſed general pity and concern for their forlorn circumſtances. He repreſented Coligni as one unſufferable to the king and government by his ambition and inſolence; who, after the peace and his admiſſion to the court, preſumed to dictate in all things, and threatened a recourſe to arms and rebellion, unleſs the king complied directly with his demands; and that upon being wounded by one whom he proſecuted, his fierceneſs and rage became dreadful to the court, where he conſpired to aſſault the duke of Guiſe; and that thence enſued the inſurrection of the populace and the carnage. The character of Bellievre, which had the caſt of ingenuity, joined with his poſitive aſſeverations, that all he advanced was acknowledged by ſome of the admiral's friends, inclined ſeveral to doubt or to diſbelieve the different accounts they had heard. By means of his acquaintance with Peter Charpentier, who had been a profeſſor of law at Geneva, and found a refuge in his houſe in the time of the maſſacre of Paris; a ſtroke of another kind was given to the whole party of the proteſtants. This betrayer of his ſect, without declaring himſelf an apoſtate, endeavoured to expoſe it, as having corrupted its religious principles into thoſe of faction, and inſtigated civil war and rebellion. He called the butchery that had befallen the proteſtants a juſt judgment of

and a literary controverſy with the proteſtants is fomented.

* Matthieu, p. 347. Thuan. ibid.

God;

God; and in an epiſtle publiſhed againſt them, under the name of the *Cauſers*, laboured to calumniate the proteſtant miniſters, though with a diſtinction between the characters of ſome of them, and thoſe of Beza's party, whom he held forth as the violent incendiaries. The virulent and inſulting blow, moſt grateful upon this occaſion to the court, was propoſed to have been inflicted with more efficacy by the concurrence of Francis Balduin, a famous Civilian, and of better reputation than Charpentier, though he had been once a proteſtant, and turned catholic. But when aſked by the duke of Anjou, to ſupport the argument with his pen, Balduin excuſed himſelf decently from engaging in a controverſy, from the ſtate of which he knew no credit could be gained, and having peruſed Charpentier's performance, made ſeveral animadverſions upon it. In Germany, Pibrac, who had a literary and cultivated genius, took a ſhare in the argument himſelf, and compoſed a more accurate juſtification of the revenge of the court than had yet appeared upon the hypotheſis of the conſpiracy; while Monluc in Poland, where he found the accounts of the maſſacres were turned to the prejudice of the duke of Anjou's intereſt, endeavoured to balance them, by giving the hiſtory of the cruelties of the baron des Adrets, and rehearſing the various outrages committed by the proteſtants in France, by their ranſacking and demoliſhing the churches and monaſteries, without ſtating them as unlicenced acts of military violence or repriſals. Wherever the envoys made thoſe public defences of the court, and attacks on the proteſtants, they met with rough opponents, who in their replies no more ſpared the court and the character of the king's miniſtry and his agents, than the latter did their ſlaughtered friends and brethren. In thoſe controverſies, general invectives and perſonal abuſes were more inſiſted

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on than arguments; and even in the end of the laſt century, when the ſubject of them was revived by the perſecution of the proteſtants; the ſtile of them, though much improved, has ſtill a great tincture of vehemence and private ſlander. We ſee in many articles of Bayle's dictionary, a detail of the ſcandals with which the catholic and proteſtant writers charge each other. This celebrated author, born with a ſuperior genius in the controverſial way of writing, has fully avenged the cauſe of the latter; and he would have done as much credit to his own talents, as he has added to the reputation of his party, had he wrote leſs on this ſubject, or compoſed other things, as he has done his criticiſm of the hiſtory of Calviniſm by Maimbourg.

Though reduced almoſt todeſperation, the proteſtants begin to recover ſpirit.

By the vaſt effuſion of the blood of the proteſtants, by the exilement of many of them, and the conformity of others who were terrified, to the catholic church, the court believed the party to be in effect extinguiſhed, and the proteſtants thought themſelves reduced to this. There were only four cities in the kingdom that dared to receive ſome diſperſed parties of the futigive nobleſſe and their families; who, after the deſtruction of their principal leaders, ſeemed to carry only conſternation and deſpair along with them. Of the four towns granted for the ſecurity of the articles of the pacification, Montaubon and Rochelle only remained unſurrendered to the king's troops *. When by a rare inſtance of the relenting or unaccountable movement of the human mind, Reſnier, ſaved at the maſſacre by de Veſins, a furious man, and his mortal enemy, preſented himſelf with a ſmall troop of horſemen at the gates of the firſt of theſe places; he found the inhabitants in ſuch confuſion and diſmay, that he could not prevail with them to ſtand on

* D'Aubigne, chap. 9.

their defence. His defeating, by a marvellous effort of desperate courage, a party of four hundred of Monluc's soldiers, only inspired them with this resolution †. Though the flight of the most numerous parties being to Rochelle, the concourse of fifty gentlemen, and as many ministers, and about a thousand soldiers, appeared to claim the protection, and animate the courage of the townsmen, yet the fleet commanded by the baron de la Garde and Strozzi, hovering in their bay, and the land forces drawn together in their neighbourhood by de Biron, shewed them the immediate danger of a siege they would be exposed to, by any act of disobedience to the court. As la Chastre had also been ordered with some troops to draw near to Sancerre, it was believed by the king's ministers that these precautions they had taken, joined to the general surprise and terror, would be sufficient to obtain the possession of these towns, from which only resistance was apprehended. The people of Rochelle, upon the thronging of the refugees into the city at first, seemed to be altogether at a loss both for counsel and resolution, and sent to Strozzi to ask advice about what might be expected from them. When the king's letters to them were brought, which signified his reasons for the violent methods taken with the admiral and his friends, and declared his intention to maintain the edicts, and promised liberty of conscience, and by particular indulgence to them, the public exercise of religion in the city, which he required to receive de Biron as the governor appointed by him; their answer, apparently submissive, was, that they would obey the king, provided that the sea and land forces that beset them were withdrawn. As the commanders gave them some hopes of yielding to this condition, their deputies went out

by a surprising defeat of a catholic party near Montaban,

† Ibid. chap. 7. Matthieu, p. 349.

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to St. Jean de Angeli to hold a conference with Biron; who from his general character, and the accounts ſpread of his behaviour at the maſſacre of Paris, and even of the riſk he run of being involved in it, was particularly acceptable to them. Having expreſſed to them in private, his abhorrence of St Bartholomew's day, the amicable advices he gave them, to accept of the king's peaceable offers without drawing upon their city a ruinous ſiege, which would be hopeleſsly ſuſtained by them againſt the whole forces of the kingdom, began to produce the deſired effect, eſpecially among the magiſtrates and the more wealthy citizens. But their deliberations ſoon took a different turn. Some of the hiſtorians repreſent them, as having from the beginning only practiſed theſe ſhews of compliance in order to gain time; and others with d'Avila, charge Biron himſelf with encouraging them to reſiſt; though Brantome declares, that this report was altogether a falſe aſperſion of his enemies, propagated without the leaſt ground. In the ſituation in which things would appear upon the firſt intelligence, it is evident that the Rochellers, however diſpoſed, would be ſtruck with ſurprize and perplexity, might fluctuate in their reſolutions, and after the hurry of their aſtoniſhment was ſubſided, would, without inſtigation, adhere to thoſe counſels that were from various motives natural to them *. Proud and jealous of their antient civil privileges, as well as attached to liberty of conſcience, and the ſecure enjoyment of their religion, they had always oppoſed any attempt that had been made to infringe what was the memorable recompenſe of their city's former fidelity to the crown of France; when twelve years after being given up by the treaty of Bretigny to the Engliſh, it ſhook off their yoke by a voluntary exertion of its own

and the reſolution of the Rochellers not to admit Biron into their city;

* Thuan. lib. xl. p. 836. Matthieu, ibid.

ſtrength,

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ſtrength, and maintained its freedom. Charles V. upon this ſignal proof of the loyalty of Rochelle, had confirmed the charter of its antient rights and immunities, in the manner theſe were enjoyed by ſeveral other great towns; with this addition, that its caſtle ſhould be demoliſhed, and its defence committed entirely to the townſmen. Its civil government being placed in a hundred *ſcabins* or eſcheoins, and their aſſeſſors; a mayor was elected out of this body of magiſtracy every year after Eaſter. The incorporation having made choice of three of their number; the liſt of them was preſented to the king's lieutenant of the province, who fixed upon one of them to ſupply the mayor's office, to which that of the governor appointed by the king, was only in precedency and in name ſuperior. However perſonally agreeable to the citizens Biron might be, the nomination of him at this juncture as a new governor, who was to be admitted with a train into the city, and have his authority recognized, while a large body of troops under his command were aſſembled at no great diſtance, could not fail to beget ſtrong ſuſpicions among them of a deſign to introduce a garriſon by ſurprize, and with a military force to wreſt their privileges from them. But the certain intelligence brought of a freſh and atrocious butchery at Bourdeaux, and of the perfidy of the catholic commander, who was admitted into Caſtres, finally determined them not to expoſe themſelves to the like uſage. Biron's ſolicitations, which were ſtill continued, proved ineffectual, and though the letters he procured to be wrote to them by the king of Navarre, and the publication of the moſt favourable edicts by Charles for the protection of thoſe who ſhould retire to their home, made an impreſſion on ſome of the nobility, and cauſed a party of them to leave the city; the people of Rochelle continued firm in their reſolutions to refuſe any governor admittance, unleſs the troops were

but, rather than expoſe themſelves to the loſs of their privileges,

to abide a ſiege.

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were removed from their confines, and the fleet withdrew. Biron was ordered by the king to declare war; and the Rochellers prepared for the defence of their city.

THOUGH ſtunned and dejected with the dreadful cataſtrophe, that had ſwept away ſuch a number of them, and diſabled from arming in the field and drawing together, as they had done in their former greateſt extremities, in conſiderable bodies; the proteſtants were ſtill capable of making ſome reſiſtance, and of diſappointing the meaſures of the court to cut them off from every reſource of defence and oppoſition. United together by the general tye of their religion, by the ſenſe of their common danger, by the reſentment of their barbarous ſufferings, and animated by the memory of former ſurpriſing recoveries of their fortune, ſeveral parties of the nobility choſe to run the utmoſt hazard of war, rather than truſt their lives to the faithleſs declarations of the court, that had been ſo fatally experienced by their friends. With a boldneſs that hard fortune inſpires, and an uncommon power that neceſſity gives to find ſome means of ſafety, they began to make attempts on ſeveral towns in Guienne and Languedoc, where their partizans were moſt numerous *. Encouraged by Reſnier's ſucceſs at Montauban, they proceeded to other trials of their ability, to rouze the courage of their friends, ſurprize the unguarded catholics, and get poſſeſſion of ſeveral of thoſe places, which had always proved their ſhelter and retreat in their former ſtraits. Their enterprizes, though irregularly conducted, and without ſubordination among their leaders, proved wonderfully ſucceſsful. A number of towns were in a ſhort time occupied by them in the Cevennes, Querei, Roverques and Fois; and after having agreed upon the command

Their diſſipated parties draw together in the Cevennes and other places;

* D'Aubigne, ibid. Sully, liv. i.

to

to be given in theſe different diſtricts to their ſeveral chiefs, de Gourdon, Serignac, Paulin and Caumont; the aſpect of their growing ſtrength and ſettled oppoſition, drew over to their combination, Nemes, Sommiers, and other ſtrong towns in the lower Languedoc; and various places and forts in the Vivarez, and upon the Rhone. The count de Joyeuſe, being too weak to combat them in theſe quarters, the marſhal Damville was appointed to raiſe troops and march into his government of Languedoc, in order to expel them. In Guienne the marquis de Villars, created admiral of France, was alſo employed in the ſame commiſſion; while in theſe expeditions, the forces of ſeveral catholic commanders were diſperſed; Sancerre having eſcaped the danger of being ſurprized by la Chaſtre, prepared by the reſolute bravery of its inhabitants, aided by ſome bands of refugees, and encouraged by the exhortations of the miniſters, to emulate the more hopeful reſiſtance of Rochelle, upon which depended the fortune of the proteſtants in all other places where they endeavoured to maintain this fourth war, without being countenanced by the princes of their religion, or guided by leaders of experience and reputation.

and put themſelves in a condition to maintain a fourth war.

THE court, diſappointed in the ſcheme of inducing the people of Rochelle to a ſubmiſſion by means of Biron, thought of another expedient for the purpoſe. After Genlis's party was defeated in Flanders, la Noue being on his return home, was courteouſly addreſſed by the duke of Longueville, brought to Paris, and introduced to the king *. Having excuſed the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, and commended his probity, honour, and moderate behaviour, Charles aſked and required la Noue to repair to Rochelle, and uſe his endeavours to perſuade the citizens to conſult

By means of la Noue, the court thinks of bringing Rochelle to ſubmit;

* Thuan. p. 1074. D'Aubigne, chap. 7.

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their own intereſt and the peace of the kingdom, by a compliance with his commands, in which he meant not to violate their privileges. The propoſition to execute ſo delicate and undeſirable a commiſſion, ſurprized la Noue, and he expreſſed a reluctance to be employed in it. But more afraid of incurring ſome reproach of diſhonour, than unwilling to act as a mediator of peace, he agreed to undertake the buſineſs, under the expreſs condition, that inſtead of uſing any other methods than thoſe of fair perſuaſion with the Rochellers, he ſhould be at liberty, if his arguments for peace did not prevail, to give them the counſel and aſſiſtance of a man of honour, and a friend in whom they truſted. Accompanied by Gadaigne, a Florentine, he arrived at Rochelle, without being diſſatisfied with the attendance of this emiſſary of the court upon him, though intended to be an inſpector of his motions. Having made a trial of his influence to diſpoſe the citizens to yield to the demands of the court, and found them altogether reſolute againſt it, he accepted the offer that was made him, of being their chief military commander in the town, and performed that office in ſuch a manner as fully juſtified his fidelity in it; while the court was made ſenſible, that he had not failed in acquitting himſelf of his promiſe to the king: an example of honourable behaviour, in rare and ſingular circumſtances, which no character, inferior to that la Noue had for integrity, could have diſplayed! The acquiſition of ſo brave an officer was an encouragement to the Rochellers, who, accuſtomed to the regular government of their mayor and echevins, and to ſome military diſcipline in the ordinary guard of their city, and its fortifications in the late war, were immediately ranged into the order of a garriſon *. Two thouſand of the inhabitants, divided into companies, under the

but, agreeable to his declaration, he accepts the office of general of the troops in that city;

* Thuan. D'Avila, ibid.

command

command of ſeveral officers were muſtered in the city, which ſerved without pay, and which could be eaſily recruited. The body of diſciplined troops, with the nobility who had fled into the town, amounted to thirteen hundred men, the moſt part of whom were veterans, well acquainted with military ſervice. The city increaſed in number of people, and enriched by the civil wars, not long before this period, had ſtrengthened its fortifications, by ſome new works, erected by Scipio Vergani, a Venetian engineer. Its artillery conſiſted of nine large braſs cannon, and as many culverins, thirty-eight field pieces, and more than a hundred of other iron ordnance, called *facres* and *faulconets*. Its ſtore of gun-powder, beſides what could be made in the mills, was reckoned to be a hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds weight, and the arſenal furniſhed other ammunition in the ſame plentiful proportion. The proviſion of all kinds of victual for ſupporting the neceſſaries of a ſiege, were no leſs conſiderable, though they had leſs corn than wine, which the neighbouring iſles ſupplied in abundance *. The general condition of the city, with reſpect to its fortifications, magazines and police, ſhewed the effects of a ſpirit of induſtry in a commercial place, where all ſuch trade as was then known flouriſhed under a ſpecies of government, adapted to its encouragement. The genius of the people naturally rough and unpoliſhed, from their maritime genius and occupations, inclined them to reſiſtance, and made them place their pride in expending their wealth and labour, in being the protectors of thoſe who had taken refuge with them, and maintaining the general cauſe of the proteſtants in the kingdom, drenched in many places with the perfidious effuſion of their blood. To this ſpirit they were animated by the fervent exhorta-

which being populous and commercial,

* Matthieu, p. 350.

tions

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tions of fifty miniſters, whoſe pictures of the maſſacre in their ſermons, inflamed their ſentiments, and whoſe participation with them in ſome of the toils of the ſiege, quickened their vigilance and zeal. Their mayor was James Henry, a man not of acute parts, but inflexible in his principles, and reſolute in his conduct, and apt to ſuſpect the compliance of the nobility with the propoſals of the court. His inobſequious and rigid turn of mind was moderated by Salbert, a citizen of reputation, in whom he confided; and ſome diſſentions created by it with the military chieftains, were compoſed. Among the townſmen, there were ſeveral bold warriors, who vied with the experienced officers; and many of the gentry having always lived remote from the court, and being educated in a diſguſt of the principles and manners of the leading catholics, were diſpoſed to exert that obſtinate courage, that yields not but in the laſt extremity. Beſides naval ſuccours expected to be procured in England by the interceſſion of the Vidame of Chartres, and the count de Montgomery, with queen Elizabeth; the Rochellers flattered themſelves with other favourable hopes. They counted upon the exhauſted ſtate of the king's finances, upon the difficulties attending a winter ſiege, and the miſunderſtanding and diſcord that were believed to prevail among the catholic commanders, as circumſtances that might probably co-operate to their advantage, and the reduction of the army of their adverſaries.

makes all neceſſary preparations for its defence.

As ſeveral paſſages of the hiſtory of the civil wars have furniſhed occaſion of obſerving what may be reckoned curious in the fortifications of thoſe times, and in the defence and aſſault of them; we ſhall not protract the preſent narrative, with a deſcription of the ſiege of Rochelle, or of Sancerre; which was carried on at the ſame time. It will be ſufficient to take notice of ſome of the

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the chief incidents of the former, and give a ſummary of thoſe of the latter place, before we proceed to recount a foreign and ſingular event, which put a period to the famous ſieges of both. Rochelle being inveſted in November, the ſiege was compleatly formed in the beginning of the following year, both by land and ſea *; two forts being raiſed by the aſſailants in the extremities of the harbour, and a large Carrack loaded with ballaſt, and mounted with cannon, being placed between them. The duke of Anjou's arrival in the camp in the month of February, gave occaſion to ſome parleys about a treaty of peace, which proving ineffectual, the ſkirmiſhes and batteries that had already been bloody and frequent, were renewed with greater fury. In the various conflicts and aſſaults, the beſieging army was generally worſted and repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Anjou's impatience to have the work cut ſhort, and the impetuoſity and contention of ſo great a body of courtiers and chieftains, who hardly endured that Biron ſhould have the chief conduct of the important enterprize, made them hazard many dangerous attacks. In the mean time la Noue, who found it extremely difficult to act the mediator of peace and the warrior, judged it neceſſary to quit his command in the town, and paſs into the duke of Anjou's camp. This teſtimony of his impartial behaviour, had been inſiſted on by the count de Retz, as conſiſtent with his engagement; and he the more eaſily agreed to it, as, in the counſels of the city, his advices to accommodate matters, were not heard without high indignation by moſt of the miniſters. One of them in rage followed him to his houſe, and after reproaches, gave him a blow with his fiſt. Some gentlemen who attended their commander, were going to revenge the inſult; but la Noue would

February.

The ſiege of Rochelle is carried on, after the duke of Anjou's arrival in the camp,

* D'Aubigne, chap. 10. Matthieu, p. 351.

Book VI. 1573. allow them only to ſeize him; and gave orders to carry him home to his wife, and to acquaint her of his inſanity. In the mean time the count de Montgomery, who had ſent notice of his having collected an armament, arrived in the bay of Rochelle. This was a new occaſion of ſurpriſe and perplexity to the catholic army, and of encouragement and joy to the city †. But his fleet of fifty-three ſail, was only a ſhew of veſſels of ſmall burden and force. Queen Elizabeth, after teſtifying, by the reception ſhe gave the French ambaſſador la Motte-Fenelon, the horror and indignation conceived in the Engliſh court and nation, at the maſſacres of the proteſtants, had gradually abated the expreſſions of her reſentment; and became ſo much appeaſed, as, upon the extraordinary embaſſy of the count de Retz, to accept Charles's invitation to ſtand God-mother at the baptiſm of his daughter. Her ambaſſador who was ſent to perform this office, being on his return ſtopt at ſea, and plundered by ſome Flemiſh or French pirates, repriſals were attempted to be made by detaining all the ſhips of thoſe nations, found in the Engliſh ports. Montgomery, who had ſeveral veſſels of Rochelle along with him, ſuffered by this arreſt; and after loſs of time, ſet out in an indifferent plight. Yet as the French fleet conſiſted only of fifteen ſhips and galleys, it appears that Montgomery, who had near two thouſand men of different nations on board, to throw into Rochelle, might have attempted much more than he did. It is probable that he neither underſtood the advantage he had by the number and ſuperior ſkill of his ſeamen, nor knew the poſture of the catholic fleet, which, unfurniſhed of all its beſt ſailors, from their reluctance to ſerve againſt Rochelle, lay unactive under the fire of the land batteries. But

† Lib. lvi. p. 1158.

the

the ſight of theſe was ſufficient to determine the count to withdraw, after only two days riding in the bay, to Belleiſle, where he thought of raiſing a uſeleſs fortreſs. During all this interval, the Rochellers maintained the defence of their bulwarks with invincible reſolution. That of the *Evangile* alone, coſt the beſiegers vaſt labour and bloodſhed. It is ſaid to have ſtood above twelve thouſand cannon ſhot from the batteries, and nine aſſaults; and they ſtill fought in its ruins in the beginning of May, when the breaches opened were ſupplied by retrenchments, and the cloſer attacks of them rendered the combats more fierce and bloody on both ſides. One ſmall bark out of five left by Montgomery, having avoided all the batteries, and got into the harbour *; the Rochellers with the ſound of their drums and trumpets, and a general diſcharge of their muſquets, erected a May-pole in the ſtreets, to magnify this inconſiderable relief, and atteſt the unfading vigour of their courage.

with more precipitation than ſucceſs;

In the ſiege, now continued for ſeven months, many eminent commanders and officers among the catholics had loſt their lives. The duke d'Aumale, Coſſens, Goa, and Vergani the engineer, were killed; and in the end, ſixty captains were reckoned to have periſhed by wounds or diſeaſes. In the camp from their diſtempers, and other cauſes of diſorder, ſeveral bands of the French ſoldiers became diſobedient to their orders, and the bulk of them performed their duty and followed their leaders with reluctance. In the city, ſeveral of their braveſt combatants having fallen, and ſtraits of various kinds being more ſenſibly felt, the party for a capitulation became more clamorous and powerful. Both ſides being deſirous of finiſhing the conteſt, and neither of them yielding to the de-

May.

and, after being continued for ſeven months,

* Matthieu, ibid.

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mands of the other; the articles of the treaty were canvaſſed, and the aſſaults puſhed on to the end of June. Though informed of his election to the crown of Poland, and adviſed of the promiſe given by the biſhop of Valence to grant the Rochellers advantageous terms, the duke of Anjou ſtill thought of ſhewing himſelf to the laſt, the indiſputable vanquiſher of the proteſtants. Being at laſt required by the king to conclude the military operations on any plauſible terms, and having narrowly eſcaped a deadly wound, which one of the domeſtics by interpoſing received in his body; a treaty was finally agreed upon, in its conditions honourable to the beſieged; while after the employment of an army of fifty thouſand men againſt them, and the deſtruction of one half of them, it could only be reckoned, on the catholic ſide, a ſpecious cover to the king's honour, and that of the duke of Anjou. It comprehended along with Rochelle, the two cities of Niſmes and Montauban as her confederates ‡. By its articles, reduced to the form of a royal edict, the free exerciſe of religion was permitted to the proteſtant inhabitants of theſe towns, along with the reſtoration of the catholic worſhip in the churches, where it had been ſuppreſſed. The gentry or poſſeſſors of fiefs-noble, who had bore arms in thoſe places, were allowed to celebrate marriages and baptiſms in their houſes, in companies not exceeding ten perſons; and all abjurations forced by penalties being declared null and void, the proteſtants every where were indulged with liberty of conſcience. The privileges of theſe towns remained ſecure and undiminiſhed; the king only claiming the power of appointing Governors, without obliging them to have other garriſons than their own, or inſiſting on building citadels without their conſent. Four hoſtages out of

it is concluded by a treaty honourable to the Rochellers.

‡ D'Aubigne, chap. 20. Thuan. p. 1131. P. Daniel, p. 991.

each

each of the cities, were to be ſent to the king; and a general amneſty was granted by him.

BESIDES the deſtruction of the troops, and the vaſt ſums expended by the court, another evil, which in part cauſed the increaſe of theſe misfortunes, made its appearance in the catholic camp before Rochelle. The diſcords and animoſities that prevailed among many of the chief courtiers and military commanders, had grown to ſuch a height, that in the army, compoſed of the bulk of the forces of the kingdom, three factions were plainly diſcernible; the rigid and zealous catholics; the malcontents or politicians; and the new converts to the church. This was the new fermentation produced in the ſtate and nation by St. Bartholomew's bloodſhed; which was contrived as the remedy for the diſorders of the kingdom. The firſt of theſe parties by juſtifying it, teſtified its diſpoſition and aim to have the ſtate ruled on the principles of the maſſacre. The ſecond, without appearing to favour the proteſtants as a religious ſect, condemned the lawleſs treatment of them, as the ſubverſion of every juſt maxim of government, and the pretext for many other abuſes and political miſchiefs being entailed on the kingdom. The third, having abjured their religious principles more from fear and the deſire of living in peace, than from an entire conviction, hardly afforded the requiſite teſtimonies of their concurrence with the meaſures of the government, directed, as they were, to the violent ſuppreſſion of the party to which they lately adhered. The malcontents and this laſt claſs, naturally entered into the views of each other; and both together forming a large body of the army, Francis duke of

Three parties being fomented in the catholic camp,

the duke of Alençon becomes the head of one of them, called the malcontents,

* D'Aubigne, chap. 11.

Alençon,

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Alençon, was eaſily inclined to favour their intentions, and to ſupport his own influence in the ſtate by them. Elated with the hopes of ſovereign dignity by a propoſed match with the queen of England, and other projects cheriſhed by the queen mother, this prince diſcovered a liſtleſs and irregular ambition, mixed with a jealouſy of the duke of Anjou, and of Catherine herſelf; of which the court had ground to dread the effects. When he was ſent to the army, the diſtruſt entertained of him made Catherine allow only one tent and table for the two princes. But this precaution was of little ſignificance to check his turbulent ſpirit. He ſoon found opportunity and encouragement from the factions to form the enterprize of eſcaping from the army, and taking his paſſage to the Engliſh court *. Some meaſures were actually concerted for the purpoſe; when the king being informed of them, ſent Pinard with a ſpecial order to the prince, not to quit the kingdom. His objections to the quality of the meſſenger, his charging him with forging his commiſſion, and the little reſpect he ſeemed to pay to it, when produced to him, furniſh an evidence of the weakneſs and decline of the royal authority, amidſt the prevalence of parties both in the court and in the army; the conſequences of which in a ſhort time were more fully diſplayed. Meanwhile, Sancerre having muſtered three hundred and fifty of its inhabitants, a hundred peaſants armed with ſlings, and five companies of refugees, under the command of Joanneau its bailiff, underwent a regular attack, and then a cloſe blockade by the catholic forces, conducted by la Chaſtre; which amounted to about ſix thouſand men †. The deſperate courage of theſe unfor-

and meditates an eſcape into England.

* Ibid. Matthieu, p. 352.

† D'Aubigne, chap. 12. Matthieu, ibid. Thuan. p. 1116.

tunate

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The deſperate courage of the proteſtants of Sancerre;

tunate people, whoſe character has been already touched, exceeded not only whatever could be conceived about their obſtinate perſeverance in a courſe of diſaſters and hardſhips; but whatever human nature, when puſhed to extremity, has been known to endure. As if the ſufferings in the ſiege of Jeruſalem by Veſpaſian had been laid before them as a pattern to be imitated, the approach of famine was calmly expected; and all its train of miſeries ſupported with incredible reſolution. After the conſumption of their proviſions had forced them to have recourſe to the fleſh and the hides and ſkins of horſes, dogs, and all kinds of animals; a public council was held, and a decree paſſed it for holding out the ſiege. The moſt nauſeous herbage, together with leather, parchments cut in pieces and moiſtened, were next fed upon; and at length, after other more loathſome repaſts, dead bodies began to be dug up and preyed upon. In forty days, four hundred died of famine, and more than two hundred were found pined to death. The remainder obtained a tolerable capitulation; the ſoldiers being allowed to march out with their baggage, and liberty of conſcience and impunity being given to the townſmen. Their greateſt hope was to be included in the capitulation of Rochelle; in which, though ſeveral endeavours were uſed to obtain for them this favour, they could not prevail. Their obſtinacy and their extremities were compared with thoſe of the people of Harlem in Holland; which being as long beſieged as Sancerre, ſurrendered to the duke of Alva about this time.

which at length ſurrenders.

Auguſt.

CHAP. III.

Solicitation of the crown of Poland for the duke of Anjou—The biſhop of Valence ſucceſsful in his negotiation—Origin of the Poliſh kingdom—Its conſtitution and general diets—Henry of Valois elected king—Reception of the Poliſh envoys in Paris—Charles provoked at Anjou's delaying his departure—Bold demands made by the proteſtants—Factions in the court, under the names of the Malcontents and Politicians—Account of the auke of Anjou's journey, and coronation in Poland.

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IT has been obſerved, that various ſchemes formed by queen Catherine in order to acquire a diadem to the duke of Anjou had now centered in one object, which was that of promoting his election to the vacant crown of Poland. In the ſucceſs of this deſign, Charles was no leſs intereſted than Catherine, and from the increaſing renown and authority of his brother in the army, more anxious to behold its happy iſſue. It had been reſolved to ſpare no pains or expence, and to uſe the utmoſt addreſs and ſolicitation in the important buſineſs. Monluc the biſhop of Valence, was immediately pitched on to conduct it, as the ableſt negotiator in the kingdom. This prelate, ſo often mentioned in this hiſtory, was endowed with ſuch peculiar qualities, that, with all the liberties of a courtier in his manners, he could preſcribe, in public aſſemblies, moral and ſtrict rules to his brethren of the ſacred order, without expoſing himſelf to ridicule, and teſtify the moderation of his principles and counſels with reſpect to the proteſtants, without rendering himſelf in the leaſt obnoxious to the diſpleaſure of the court; which always ſtood in need of a man ſo ſkilful and experienced in all public treaties and negotiations with foreign ſtates.

The court, full of the project of obtaining the crown of Poland for the duke of Anjou,

It

It had been * propoſed to join with him in the embaſſy to Poland, ſome other of the beſt agents; but on account of their neceſſary employment elſewhere, Monluc had the truſt and management of the whole tranſaction committed to him, with the aſſiſtance of the Abbé de l'Iſle, brother to Noailles, biſhop of Dax, and the younger Lanſac. Senſible of what importance it was, in a foreign country, to have ſome favourable prepoſſeſſions raiſed among the people, about the eminent character and qualifications of the prince to be propoſed as a candidate for their crown; he diſpatched, before the king's death, his own natural ſon Balagny into Poland, with proper inſtructions upon this head. The point aimed at was executed with the more ſucceſs, as the high commendations given to the duke of Anjou, in ſeveral companies of young Poliſh lords frequented by Balagny, appeared to be thrown out without deſign. Several of thoſe who heard them, began to wiſh for ſuch a prince to aſcend the throne of Poland as the duke of Anjou was deſcribed to be; and when he was afterwards nominated among the competitors, they became attached to him as their choice †. When Monluc arrived in the kingdom, he knew ſo well how to improve theſe advantageous impreſſions, and fill the minds of many with ideas of the generous ſpirit, magnanimity, and celebrated valour of the duke of Anjou, and to demonſtrate the title he had, from the ſplendor of his birth and fame, and other more intereſting conſiderations of policy, to be preferred to all his rivals, that the general admiration increaſing in proportion to the uncontradicted report of his merit, produced a ſudden and ſurprizing concurrence of the ſuffrages of moſt part of the Poliſh ſenators, and of the nobility in

employs Monluc biſhop of Valence in this negotiation,

which he finds means to render ſucceſsful,

* Thuan. p. 1067.

† Matthieu, p. 358. La Vie du cardinal Commendon par Gratiani, liv. iv. p. 557.

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his favour. But the intelligence brought about the Pariſian maſſacre, and of the duke of Anjou's activity in it, cooled the inclinations of many, and alienated from his intereſt the generality of the proteſtants, who in Poland were called the *Evangeliques* ‡. Though the inferior party, they were numerous, and had very conſiderable authority and weight in this republican ſtate; where inſtead of being expoſed to civil violence and perſecution, they enjoyed the freedom of their religious worſhip, and being admitted to all the privileges of citizens, were looked upon by the catholics, rather as profeſſed adverſaries of the luxuries and ambition of the eccleſiaſtical order, and auſtere reformers of the diſcipline of the church, and the manners of the age, than diſturbers of the peace of the ſtate and commonwealth. The competitors for the crown endeavoured to make the moſt of this popular argument, to divide and weaken the duke of Anjou's adherents. A piece wrote by the Jeſuits of Ingolſtad *, who favoured the emperor's ſon's pretenſions, under the title of a panegyric upon Anjou, proved the moſt ſevere and bitter ſatire. He was applauded in it, as the author, conductor, and executor of the overthrow given to the enemies of the church in the laſt deciſive battle of St. Bartholomew. In preference to the king and all others, the chief merit of the action being aſcribed to him, it was ſaid that he deſerved to be extolled, like David, in the ſcriptural language, "*That Charles had killed his thouſands, but Henry his ten thouſands.*" It required all Monluc's addreſs and dexterity, to take off the influence of this objection. He cauſed the duke's portrait he had brought along with him, drawn with all the traits of mildneſs and benignity, to be copied and diſperſed among the nobility and people; that they might have a ſort of

notwithſtanding the oppoſition of competitors,

and the objections made to the duke of Anjou's character by the Poliſh proteſtants.

‡ Gratiani, ibid. p. 505. * D'Aubigne, chap 15.

ocular

ocular confutation of the groſs inhumanities imputed to a prince ſo gracious and gentle in his mien and aſpect. At length, by thoſe means, and the proper management of incidents, and of the colliſion of parties, matters were reſtored to their firſt favourable ſhape. Of the various candidates for the crown, among which had ſtood the king of Sweden, the duke of Muſcovy, and the princes of Tartary and Tranſilvania, it was apparent that none could reckon upon a ſolid intereſt, but Ernheſt ſon to the emperor Maximilian, the duke of Anjou, and the *Piaſtes*. Inſtead of inſiſting on the different arguments, advanced in behalf of the two contending princes, by their ſeveral envoys and partizans, and the intrigues and counterplots previous to the election; it will afford more entertainment, to give ſome account of the antient hiſtory of Poland, and mention the ſingularities of its government, and the form of the election of its kings; which have ſo long ſubſiſted, to the admiration of other monarchies of Europe.

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Account of the origin of the Poliſh ſtate and kingdom.

THE original of the Poliſh ſtate is derived from Lechus, the firſt duke of the nation, who, about the year 550, founded the town of Greſna; which, by the primacy of its archbiſhop, and his being veſted with the apoſtolic powers of the legate of Rome, and in the vacancy of the crown, with the higheſt civil authority, may certainly be reckoned the moſt antient city in the kingdom *. After Lechus's death, the government changed into twelve chief dukes, called *Palatines* or *Vaiwodes*, until Cracus, more powerful than any of them, aſſumed the ſole adminiſtration, and built Cracow; which afterwards became the metropolis of the kingdom. Again upon the extinction of the race of Cracus, or their imbecil-

* Thuan. p. 1134.

BOOK VI. 1573. lity in ruling the ſtate, the dominion of the Palatines prevailed; and the government was held by them, till the appearance made by a Piaſt or plebeian of the country, named Primiſlaus; in the wars with the Hungarians, and other ſignal teſtimonies he gave of a ſurpriſing genius and capacity, induced the nobles unanimouſly to confer upon him the dignity of firſt duke and prince of the nation. The line of the Piaſtes, (as his ſucceſſors were called) preſerved their authority for a long time, and obtained the title of kings, in the beginning of the eleventh century, from the emperor Otho III.*; which, after ſome revolutions that happened, was confirmed, with the conſent of the nobility, to Premiſlaus in the year 1295; from which period the eſtabliſhment of the royal dignity, and of the political conſtitution of the nation, became more ſettled and permanent. To the Piaſtes ſucceeded the family of the Jagellons; which united Lithuania with the Poliſh ſtate, by the choice made of its duke Jagellon, to the royal dignity; and now ended, as has been ſaid, in Sigiſmond's deceaſe without children. From this ſketch of the hiſtory of the princes of Poland, we may obſerve, that, as in the beginning of other Gothic monarchies, a rule of ſucceſſion had obtained along with the cuſtom of a choice and election of them by the Palatines and nobility; but that, from circumſtances and the genius of the people, the effect that generally enſued in other nations failing, the government revolved not into a hereditary, but an elective kingdom. The authority of the Palatines being ſo frequently maintained, and always recognized upon the vacancy of the throne, they became after the ceſſation of their exerciſe of the ſovereign power, neceſſary conſtituents of the royalty. In this ſituation, the government took a

* Matthieu, p. 368.

republican

republican form, while the name and dignity of a king were ſtill preſerved in it *. By a ſenate compoſed of the primate and another archbiſhop, ſeven biſhops, fifteen Palatines, ſixty-five Caſtellans; together with two marſhals, two chancellors, and two keepers of the ſeals, a grand ſecretary, and two maſters of requeſts; who are the ſeveral officers of the crown for Poland and Lithuania; the acts and procedure of the king were ſuperintended, and his authority controuled. The influence of ſuch a body of ſenators, amounting to ninety-ſix or a hundred, was ſufficient for this purpoſe; though to the ſovereign was left the privilege of confirming or nominating the particular grandees, who formed this council, and executed theſe offices of ſtate; the power of pardoning, but not of condemning in judicial cauſes, the general guard of the kingdom from ſudden incurſions of an enemy, the ſummoning of the nobility, or the occaſional hiring of troops to repel them, and the appointment of embaſſies for concluding treaties of peace, or negotiations with foreign ſtates. Yet in theſe laſt points, and in all great affairs of peace and war, neither the authority of the king or ſenate could be deemed available, without the conſultation of the general diet of the kingdom; which conſiſted of the convention of the whole nobility of Poland and Lithuania.

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The conſtitution of the ſenate,

In a kingdom of vaſt extent, and in ſeveral of its provinces fertile and populous, the nobles, poſſeſſed of the whole land property, except the territorial patrimonies of the crown and church, and maſters of all moveable effects on their eſtates, may eaſily be conceived to have been a numerous and powerful body. With their peaſants in the ſtate of ſlaves, and ſaleable with the lands, with an

and the power of the nobility.

* Ibid.

immunity

Book VI. 1573. immunity from taxes, and with an obligation only to military ſervice in the domeſtic defence of the kingdom; they were a community of feudal lords, whom it behoved the king and ſenate frequently to convene, for enacting and ratifying the laws by which they would be governed, and for approving the political meaſures of the ſtate. When accompanied with their whole train of attendants, they * were drawn together for a campaign, their number was reckoned to amount to a hundred and fifty thouſand cavalry; and at the diet of an election of a king, eſpecially when various competitors appeared, they were ſeldom a third part fewer than that computation. In the interreign, the ſenate maintained its ſuperintending authority; though this was admitted rather in conſequence of cuſtom and neceſſity, than from a fixed or conſtitutional eſtabliſhment of its power. The ſenators, whoſe precarious rank and office only diſtinguiſhed them from the reſt of the nobility, were, in effect, then reduced to a level with them; who had all the ſame right of ſuffrage, without reſpect to nominal dignity. Previous to the election, the deputies from the provinces came to a meeting with the ſenate, in order to have a time and place fixed for the general diet. At this time there was a warm diſpute about this determination, which iſſued in appointing the firſt of April for the one, and a plain near the town of Warſovia for the other. It was alſo propoſed, that before the aſſembly of the nobility, the foreign ambaſſadors ſhould be heard in that convention of the ſenate and deputies; and then according to cuſtom, that they ſhould be removed to the confines of the kingdom. But the deputies alledging that they were not impowered by their inſtructions, to ſettle any other point, but that general one already

The forms of procedure previous to the diet of election.

† Thuan. p. 1136.

mentioned; and the envoys alſo objecting to the motion, it was agreed that audience ſhould be given to the latter in the firſt meeting of the diet; after which, and before the day of election, they might be ordered to withdraw. As the time appointed for the general rendezvous of the nobility drew nigh; numerous parties of them, attended by their vaſſals and followers, appeared, ranging their tents and equipages over the plain; which gradually aſſumed all the form of a vaſt camp, in the midſt of which, four miles from Warſovia *, were erected, twelve large pavilions, for the head quarters of the provincial Palatines, and their ſeveral bodies of nobility; and in the center of theſe, one of a much higher and more capacious ſtructure, for reception of the ſenators, the officers of the crown and other magiſtrates †. Every where around this chief ſtation, marched troops of the nobles in the dreſs of warriors, armed moſt of them, beſides their long ſwords, with muſquets, pikes, javelins, and darts. Some of them having brought ſmall pieces of cannon along with them, were ſeen entrenched in their quarters. But, notwithſtanding all this martial cavalcade, ſo inconſonant in appearance with a national council, and at a time of the ſuſpenſion of the authority of the laws; no broils or encounters, but thoſe that were only verbal, enſued. No injury or act of violence was committed, nor a ſword drawn in wrath. The plenty and cheapneſs of forage and proviſions were no leſs remarkable, during more than forty days of the continuance of the aſſembly; which being computed to about a hundred thouſand men, reſembled in every reſpect the military camps of March and May, that have been mentioned as the common councils of

The rendezvous of the nobility.

* Matthieu, p. 358. † Gratiani, ibid. p. 579. D'Aubigne, ibid.

the

Book VI. 1573. the Franks for a conſiderable period of time; and that are now unknown in European ſtates, but by the general diets of Poland.

The general diet of Poland,

The firſt meeting of the diet being celebrated by religious worſhip, it was propoſed that the foreign ambaſſadors ſhould be immediately heard, and printed copies of their different ſpeeches delivered to the Palatines, who, joined with ſome of the principal ſenators, might communicate the import of them to the diviſions of their nobility. After ſome previous altercation and arguments uſed by ſome of the ſenators, and the party of the *Evangeliques* for enlarging and ratifying the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and the eſtabliſhment of a general toleration of religious ſectaries, this propoſal was agreed on. We ſhall only obſerve, with reſpect to the competition, that it ſtill included, beſides the emperor's ſecond ſon, and the duke of Anjou, the king of Sweden, and a Piaſt; which name in the Poliſh language being retained from the advancement of the plebeian to the throne, denominated any ſubject of Poland who might be choſen *. The motion for it at this time being ſoon ſtifled, nine commiſſioners were appointed to recapitulate in the ſenate, and plead the arguments alledged in favour of each of the three princes. This ſerved as a kind of parley among the chief partizans, in order to their acquieſcence in what was likely to be the final determination. In the mean time, the general multitude of the nobility, impatient of theſe tedious diſputations and conferences, raiſed their outcries loud, to have the grand point brought to a deciſion. The day for proceeding to the election, was fixed for the fourth of May †, and the ambaſſadors were required to remove. Then the body of the nobility, ranged

* Gratiani, p. 598. † Ibid. p. 592.

into

into thirty-two diviſions, according to their Palatinates, were every day ſeen proſtrating themſelves upon their knees, or heard ſinging the hymn of the church for the invocation of the holy ſpirit. In theſe arrangements the palatines or biſhops preſided; and the votes, given with an audible voice, being canvaſſed by them, in a manner that is not particularly mentioned by the hiſtorians, were reported to the ſenate; the members of which voted laſt in the ſcrutiny. In the ſpace of an hour, the ſuffrages of thirteen provinces, with few diſſentient voices, were given for the duke of Anjou; and the ſcrutinies made the two following days, being no leſs favourable, it appeared that of thirty thouſand nobility who voted, hardly five hundred oppoſed his election. But as there were ſtill ſome new motions propoſed by the chief partizans of the German prince, the archbiſhop of *Gneſna* apprehending the conſequences of longer delay from the enſuing feaſt of Pentecoſt, in a hurry, and without allowing time for the uſual forms, immediately proclaimed in the ſenate, Henry of Valois, brother to Charles IX. of France, the elected king of Poland. As the proclamation of the king belonged to the marſhals, this impetuoſity of the primate occaſioned a fiercer conteſt. Henry's opponents, though few, were joined by ſome others; who inſiſted that the proclamation was altogether unformal and invalid. The moſt violent betook themſelves to their arms, and drew up in order of battle. Some of the zealous friends of Henry marched forth againſt them. But this diſſention was ſoon compoſed; and the French ambaſſadors being ſent for, the proclamation was repeated in form, and reſounded through the arrangements of the nobility. The cuſtomary oath being ſworn in the king's name by the envoys, and the decree of his election framed in the ſenate; twelve delegates were appointed to carry it into France, and preſent it to their new ſovereign.

in which Henry of Valois is declared duly elected king.

Book VI.

1573.

The envoys dispatched from the diet of Poland,

To have the glory of vanquishing the interest of the house of Austria, and of other foreign princes, in the competition for a crown, and to behold the ambassadors of a great and warlike people, come from the extremities of Europe, to ask one of her princes for their king, was some consolation to France in the midst of her domestic distractions. From the passionate desire which queen Catherine had to see her favourite son proclaimed a sovereign, and take possession of the royalty; and from no less eager, though more secret wishes of Charles, to rid himself of one whom he looked upon as the rival of his reputation and authority in the kingdom; the consideration of the public disquiet was for a space of time suspended; and all the thoughts of the court and ministry were turned to the preparations for the reception of the Polish envoys and their entertainment, in a manner suitable to the honour of both nations. The bishop of Langres was dispatched to receive them at Metz; and they arrived at the gates of Paris about the middle of August *. The court of France had not beheld for many ages so illustrious an embassy. Their whole train of cavalry amounted to near three hundred, of which more than a third part were gentlemen, besides the twelve chief delegates. Their aspect, dress, and equipage, were no less a novelty to the Parisians, who gazed on the large size of their bodies, their long beards, their grave and stern countenances, the rich furrs of their habits, and the brilliant furniture of their weapons and horses. The chief nobility of the court, and the magistrates of the city, went forth in procession to meet them at the gate of St. Martin, which was decorated in the manner usual on the solemnity of the king's entrance; and through it they were carried in fifty chariots, painted

arrive in France,

Aug. 15.

and make a magnificent entrance into Paris,

* Thuan. p. 1141. Gratiani, liv. iv. p. 608.

with various devices. It was remarkable, that the Poliſh gentlemen could all ſpeak Latin, many of them German and Italian, and ſeveral of them expreſs themſelves with propriety in French; while, amongſt the whole chief nobility of the court of France, there was none who underſtood the Latin language, tho' at that time, the foundation of almoſt all literature; and the baron * de Millau and Caſtelnau Mauveſſiere were ordered to attend the court as the only two gentlemen who had this qualification; the want of which appeared now to expoſe the faſhionable ignorance of the courtiers. After their introduction to the king and queen mother, the ambaſſadors, in their moſt pompous equipage, made a proceſſion through the ſtreets, to offer their ſalutation and obeiſance to their ſovereign. A courſe of ſumptuous feaſts and feſtival entertainments attended theſe viſits, till the grand ceremony of preſenting the decree of their king's election took place. After Henry, in the cathedral of Notre Dame, had ſworn to the conditions enacted by the diet of Poland, it was performed with the utmoſt magnificence in the ſpacious hall of the palace; where Charles, being ſeated under a canopy, with his brothers and the royal family at the *marble table*, and the whole nobility and officers of the ſtate placed according to their rank, while the trumpets flouriſhed, the Poliſh delegates were introduced, and advanced towards the throne, two of them bearing on their ſhoulders a ſilver cheſt, in which the decree, having a hundred and ten ſeals affixed to it, was depoſited. This ſhew of ſtate was followed by another yet more coſtly, which was the triumphal entrance of the king of Poland by the gate St. Antoine. Upon this occaſion, the queen mother †, who gave the entertainment in the gardens of the Thuilleries, contriv-

and produce the decree of election.

* Matthieu, p. 362.

† D'Aubigne, liv. ii. chap. 1.

Book VI. 1573.

ed to embelliſh it with a kind of opera or maſque, in the taſte of thoſe times. When the tables were removed, ſuddenly from behind a curtain, appeared hovering in the air, a huge rock, cruſted with ſilver. In its niches ſixteen nymphs, repreſenting by their different ornaments the ſeveral provinces of France, touched various inſtruments of muſic, and recited harmonious verſes and ſongs in praiſe of the new king, and the enſuing felicity of his reign. Then deſcending to the ground, they preſented Henry with their peculiar tributes, and forming themſelves into rows, exhibited whatever was curious or graceful in the French dances. The Poles, notwithſtanding their natural gravity, ſeemed highly pleaſed with theſe gay diverſions; and had reaſon to be ſatisfied, in general, with the polite grandeur and liberality of the court of France.

The departure of the king of Poland from Paris was now urged by the ambaſſadors *, who repreſented the neceſſity of his ſpeedy arrival there, in order to compoſe the agitations incident to the ſtate in its preſent ſituation. But ſeveral pretences made uſe of for a delay, ſhewed that king Henry, attached to France by a variety of motives, looked upon his exaltation to the royal dignity in a remote and turbulent kingdom, much more as an exilement, than a deſirable acquiſition. After all the pains and vaſt expence his election had coſt, it is ſaid that ſome of his intimate confidents had adviſed giving ſome diſguſt to the Poliſh envoys; and it is certain the acknowledgements of Monluc's ſignal ſervices were far from being cordial, and that the many teſtimonies of regard and affection now ſhewn him by the clergy, the Guiſes, and the generality of the violent catholics, contributed to increaſe Henry's reluctance

The duke of Anjou appearing to defer his departure,

* Matthieu, ibid. De Serres, p. 761.

to leave France. To cover this averſion, which began to be apparent to others as well as his particular friends, queen Catherine, tho' deſirous of his being admitted to the poſſeſſion of his throne in Poland, alledged, from tender ſympathy with him, that longer time was neceſſary for fixing his rout through the dominions of different princes, and providing ſuch an equipage as became his dignity. When theſe excuſes could be no longer offered with decency, and they began to talk of poſtponing his journey till after winter; Charles, who had betaken himſelf to his beloved ſports in the woods, and ſeemed, as he had often done, to have left all things to the diſcretion of Catherine and his brother, awaked into ſudden indignation, ordered all the diſpatches to be brought to him; and having accoſted the queen mother, he aſked what is brother meant by delaying his departure. Upon ſome frivolous reaſons being given, his anger became violent, and with a number of his common oaths he vowed, "that the one or the other of the brothers ſhould go out of the kingdom." Catherine ſaw that it was dangerous to tamper with his rage, and having acquainted Henry with the temper of the king, and the danger of further heſitation, ſhe added, as an encouraging adieu, "Go then, my ſon, your abſence cannot be long." It is ſurpriſing, after all the diſcoveries we have traced of Catherine's political genius, to find that ſhe had ſome plauſible ſcheme accommodated to every exigency. She invented a ſingular one at this juncture, for diminiſhing the inconveniencies ſhe feared from the removal of Henry to the diſtant kingdom of Poland, by bringing him nearer to France in his royal quality †. It was propoſed by her to the prince of Orange, that the king of Poland her ſon ſhould be chief comman-

Charles is highly provoked.

† D'Aubigne. Thuan. ibid.

der

Book VI. 1573. der in the war, waged in Flanders with the king of Spain; in which caſe, ſhe offered to enter into a league with him, and furniſh powerful ſuccours. Her view was, that by having a fleet of ſhips in the Baltic at his command, Henry's communication with Flanders and France by ſea might be always free and uninterrupted. A treaty to this purpoſe, managed by Shomberg at Metz, was drawn up in writing; while ſhe undertook to ſolicit the conſent of the ſtates of Poland to this employment of their king *.

Sept. 21. Before Henry quitted Paris, he uſed the formality of demanding letters patent of his naturalization in the kingdom, in order that his right of ſucceſſion might not be reckoned abrogated or prejudiced by his acceptance of a foreign crown. The French hiſtorians mention no inſtance of this being done before, upon any occaſion; and father Daniel, who ſays he found the account of this fact not in any of them, but in the regiſters of the parliament, aſſigns no other legal obligation for the practice, except the general one of the excluſion of foreigners from the crown of France. Yet the example was afterwards followed by the duke of Alençon, and in a later period by the prince of Conti, and Philip V. of Spain, which ſhews how by a ſingle precedent a formal rule or law may be eſtabliſhed.

When the king, taking the diverſion of hunting, expected his brother at Villers-Coterez, who moved ſlowly on his rout towards the frontiers of the kingdom, it appeared what ground there was to fear the growth of freſh broils in the ſtate and nation †. Two ſets of deputies from the provinces followed him thither, and pre-

* Gratiani, p. 613. P. Daniel, p. 995.

† Sully, ibid. Thuan. p. 1149. De Serres, p. 760.

ſented

1573.

The petitions of the catholic nobility, as well as of the proteſtants, ſhew the prevailing diſcontents;

ſented their ſeveral petitions. The proteſtant commiſſioners from Languedoc were the one, and thoſe of the nobility of Dauphiny and Provence the other. The petition of the former reſpected the toleration of their religion, and the ſecurity of all who profeſſed it; and that of the other inſiſted on the ſuppreſſion of ſome late taxes. From their conjunction at this time, in demands equally diſagreeable to the court, the prevalence of animoſity and turbulent counſels, both among the Calviniſts and catholics, and the confidence thoſe parties had in ſome powerful ſupport were ſufficiently manifeſt. The import and ſtyle of the demands of the proteſtants eſpecially, ſhewed that they were under no dread of offending the court. Though deſtitute of their former conductors, and of the authoritative names of the princes of Bourbon, by which they preſerved neceſſary union and order in their deſigns; they had in a great meaſure ſupplied this defect, by means of two great confederacies of Niſmes and Montauban, which divided all the power of their adherents in Languedoc into two governments: the viſcount St. Romain being elected chief of the one, and Paulin of the other. By the communication of their counſels and reſolutions they had ſtrengthened their partizans; ſo that all important queſtions came to be determined by them as a body. As that of conforming to the capitulation of Rochelle and other affairs conteſted between them and the catholics, required to be diſcuſſed; the king had permitted a general meeting of their nobility and miniſters at both theſe cities. Elevated with the apparent recovery of their former vigour and importance; flattering themſelves with what they heard of the interceſſion of the Poliſh ambaſſadors for them, and believing that the removal of the duke of Anjou from the kingdom would produce a change of the meaſures of the court

to

Book VI. 1573.

to their advantage; they had convened at Niſmes upon St. Bartholomew's day, to deliberate about the general ſubmiſſion to the terms of the late edict of Rochelle. At this meeting it was not only agreed to teſtify their diſapprobation of them, but their remonſtrances againſt them, bore all the marks of their indignant and reſentful memory of that day of the year, on which it was framed. No treaty or compoſition with the court, yet inſiſted on by the proteſtant chiefs during the civil wars, equalled the conditions of their preſent poſition. After declaring that the treacherous maſſacre of Paris had ſo far ſapped the foundation of the public faith, that they could not without particular ſecurities ſafely rely upon it, they demanded the general and public toleration of their religion, without diſtinction of places or perſons, the retention of the cities they held, with the addition of two more in every province, to be furniſhed with garriſons of their ſoldiers, maintained at the king's expence; the eſtabliſhment of courts, compoſed of judges of their religion; the reſervation of the tythes paid to the catholic clergy, for the maintainance of their miniſters; the proſecution and puniſhment of the authors and contrivers of the maſſacres, with various other articles of the like nature and tendency; which ſo much amazed the queen mother, that ſhe declared, "if the prince of Condé had been alive, and maſter of half the cities of the kingdom, with an army of twenty thouſand horſe and fifty thouſand foot, he would not have preſumed to propoſe them." The inditement of this bold cartel proved at this time all the ſatisfaction the court reaped from the deſtruction of the proteſtant chiefs and the captivity of their princes; in whoſe room came a party of reſolute cavaliers, ſuch as Paulin, Gourdon, Verlac, who ſigned the paper; and Cavagnac Yollet and others, who preſented it to the king. But theſe men, who thought themſelves intitled to act

the latter of whom grow bolder in their demands,

upon

upon principles of reſentment againſt the government, which had broke thoſe of honour and faith with them, had put the affairs of their party in ſuch a footing of order in the remote and extenſive quarters they poſſeſſed, as rendered them formidable. Inſtead of a harſh or imperious reply as might have been expected, the king thought fit, in the preſent conjuncture, to give them a ſoft, though eluſive one, by referring them to the marſhal Damville for redreſs in ſome hardſhips complained of. The petition of the catholic nobles of the other provinces, was alſo anſwered in much the ſame manner, by promiſes of a future diminution of the tailles. We may date from this period the more general growth of a ſpirit of animoſity againſt the government among the proteſtants, and ſuch a diſregard of all the ties of allegiance as exceeded the inſtances of them in the civil wars. Not only were the maſſacres conſidered by them as an apology and a juſtifiable motive for embracing any opportunity of revolt, but the manifeſt diſaffection of a great number of the catholic nobility proved an additional inſtigation to it. The literary publications at this time ſhewed the ſentiments entertained of the arbitrary maxims and management of the court. Boetius's book on *voluntary ſervitude* was reprinted. Hothmam wrote his Franco-Gallia. In ſome pieces the queſtions about the meaſure of civil obedience to princes and magiſtrates were again canvaſſed. In others the Turkiſh deſpotiſm was maintained to be the model, ſtudied by the queen mother and her Italian politicians for the government of France. Thus the ſtyle and ſubject of the learned productions ſtill kept pace with the ſtate of parties, and not only rouſed the diſcord that prevailed in the ſtate and kingdom, but laid a foundation for the engendering of freſh parties and ſimilar conteſts in a future period.

and become more diſaffected to the government.

Book VI. 1573. October.

THE encouragement given by the queen mother to the king of Poland to hope a ſpeedy return into France, was not without ground. The ſtate of Charles's health afforded a probable expectation and almoſt an aſſurance of what was ſo much wiſhed by them both. He fell into a paroxiſm of his diſtemper at Vitri, which diſcovered its violent poſſeſſion of his frame. Though he recovered ſoon from the attack, the ſymptoms were ſuch as made Catherine more anxious to prepare for an event which ſhe plainly perceived could not be diſtant, and which preſenting ſo many perplexities to her view, required the moſt diligent and effectual proviſions of her policy. Always forward in interpoſing her artificial precautions, the diſpoſal of the duke of Anjou's commiſſion of lieutenant general of the army, anxiouſly employed her thoughts; and when having left Charles, ſhe proceeded with the king of Poland to Blamont †; it was a point ſettled betwixt them that it ſhould not be conferred on the duke of Alençon, but be given to Charles duke of Lorain; upon whoſe deference to her authority and attachment to the intereſt of her favourite ſon ſhe could entirely rely. It was alſo determined that in caſe it was neceſſary to revive the conſtable's office, the duke of Guiſe ſhould be honoured with it. In the critical ſituation of the ſtate, the reſolution to be taken about the firſt of theſe meaſures was of that conſequence as rendered it the certain preſage of war or peace in the kingdom. It equally affected the honour of the duke of Alençon, the ſecurity of the proteſtants, and the importance of the Montmorencys and the faction of the malcontents that adhered to them; and decided whether theſe ſeveral parties might not find, each of them, their prevalent motive to unite in oppoſing the court. Even in the view of the neceſſity of deter-

Charles's indiſpoſition increaſing,

† Matthieu, p. 363. D'Avila, ibid. D'Aubigne, chap. 4.

1573.

mining the intereſting affair, a degree of Catherine's political diſſimulation and concealment of her purpoſe ſeemed requiſite to prevent an alarm being taken, and irritating conjectures being formed about her intentions and purpoſes. But reckoning upon the death of the king as inevitable, her natural impulſe to have a directing hand in the adminiſtration, together with her eagerneſs to have matters ſo adjuſted, that no hazard might be incurred or advantage taken in the time the king of Poland might be abſent, carried her beyond this prudential method of acting; and made her immediately diſcover her reſolution of fruſtrating the duke of Alençon's pretenſions to the chief command of the army.

the court becomes more expoſed to faction.

BUT this prince, whom former diſappointments and jealouſies had fretted, ſtood now in a ſituation that enabled him to gratify both his reſentment and his ambition. Finding himſelf courted by the proteſtants and malcontents, while the queen mother thus obſtructed his promotion to the rank and office reſigned by his brother, he reſolved to avail himſelf of thoſe connexions; and at this time he made no ſcruple to traverſe the project formed by Catherine for getting the king of Poland declared general of the war in Flanders, by treating ſecretly at Blamont with Lewis of Naſſau in order to procure this commiſſion for himſelf. The propoſal of ſubſtituting him in the room of his brother was not diſagreeable to Naſſau; who for ſeveral reaſons thought him the moſt eligible of the two; and believed whatever Catherine's inclinations might be, that the king, from evident motives of policy, might be diſpoſed to gratify him with employment at a diſtance from the court. While he proceeded in ſettling the other general articles of the league with Catherine, he thought it practicable to bring that of the nomination of the chief commander to the iſſue he wiſhed.

Duke of Alençon's ambition

Book VI. 1573.

In the midſt of theſe ſchemes ſo flattering to his vanity and ambition, the duke of Alençon's heſitation how to chuſe his party, was manifeſt; and when determined to put himſelf at the head of the politicians, he wanted the ability of acting upon his own judgment. Finding this ambiguity in his counſels and procedure, the two younger brothers of Montmorency, Thore and Meru, and the viſcount of Turaine their nephew, engaged more directly in fixing his purpoſes, and aſſiſting him with their advices. La Molle, who was his chief favourite, was admitted to a ſhare in their ſecrets; and the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé were acquainted with them. To add greater weight to their projects, la Molle thought fit to conſult with the marſhal Montmorency. This nobleman *, who ſent his guards to aſſiſt the fugitives from the maſſacre of Paris, then expoſed by their miſery and nakedneſs, to fall a prey to the peaſants, and knew himſelf and his family to be obnoxious to the court, was yet, from innate probity and concern for the public peace, averſe to factious meaſures. But apprehending the conſequences of the dominion of the violent party at this juncture, he thought it conſiſtent with his own ſafety and that of the ſtate, to counterbalance it by means of the duke of Alençon. He adviſed that, inſtead of an offenſive petition, which they had agreed to offer to the king in the name of the malcontents and proteſtants, the poſt of the general lieutenancy ſhould be formally requeſted by the duke from the king; and offered to be himſelf a ſolicitor for it. This ſcheme was accordingly followed, and would probably have anſwered the end of obtaining the king's grant of the commiſſion; as † Charles having ſeen the miſerable effects of the late ſanguinary counſels, had contracted a diſguſt at the authors of them, and plainly perceived that the

prompts him, in concert with the Montmorencys,

to demand the office of lieutenant general.

* Addit. aux Caſtel. liv. vi.

† Thuan. 1161.

refuſal

refuſal of his brother's advancement, would, with the hazard of a new war, afford them a preſent triumph. But in his diſeaſed condition, the queen mother, beſides the political arguments ſhe uſed, contributed ſo to alarm and intimidate him with the plots of the Montmorencys to ſubvert the government, and to aſſaſſinate the duke of Guiſe, that not daring to truſt his own judgment, he remained in ſuſpence about giving the commiſſion, till that armed party of the proteſtants, which was prepared to favour the duke of Alençon's flight from the court, appearing too precipitately near St. Germain en Laye, changed at once the whole face of affairs. BOOK VI. 1574.

BEFORE proceeding to relate more particularly the iſſue of what was called the duke of Alençon's conſpiracy, we ſhall here ſubjoin to the account that has been given of the election of the king of Poland, a ſhort narrative of his progreſs into that kingdom, and of his coronation. His paſſage through the ſtates of Germany had been fixed, and letters obtained from the ſeveral princes for warranting his ſafe and honourable reception into their territories. His retinue, conſiſting of more than ſix hundred cavalry *; Frederic, the elector palatine, invited him to come by Heidelberg, his capital, as the ſhorteſt way, with the princes and chief lords that attended him, and twenty gentlemen. Though this condition appeared unpolite, and the elector's jealous temper as a proteſtant was known, he proceeded, without ſignifying any diſſatisfaction. Naturally addicted to haughty manners, and not cordially fond of the viſit, the German prince could not reſtrain himſelf from diſcovering, by ſeveral incivilities, the prejudice and averſion he entertained at his gueſt. In the hall of the apartment where the king

Sequel of the hiſtory of the duke of Anjou's journey into Poland;

* Matthieu, p. 364. Thuan. p. 1152.

of

Book VI. 1574.

of Poland was received by the elector, a grand picture of the tragical death of the admiral and of the proteſtant chiefs, was diſplayed. When Henry turned his eyes upon it, "Know you theſe people?" ſaid the elector, abruptly. You may and ſhould know them, added he, for men of worth and great captains, by whoſe ſlaughter France has ſuſtained an irreparable loſs, and the authors of it gained no honour." Henry, ſenſible of the intended reproach, ſaid, they might have been as he reported of them, and turned the diſcourſe. On the day of his departure, he cauſed maſs to be ſaid in his chamber to retaliate the ſpite the elector had ſhewn. In all other places of his journey, he found the honours due to his dignity paid him; the emperor having given orders for it in all the cities and countries ſubject to him; and in his laſt ſtage from Francfort on the Oder to Mieſril, the firſt city on the frontiers of Poland, he was accompanied with near three thouſand German horſe. Here the biſhop of Cujavia, and ten other deputies from the ſenate of Poland met him, and made their harangues. The ſhew of the Poliſh troops *, ranged in different battalia along the plains and hills, was remarkable, both for their numbers and equipage. Inſtead of the German uniform in their cloaths, arms, and horſes, the various bodies of them, commanded by their ſeveral palatines, had all theſe of a different faſhion and colour. Beſides the military habit of their country, they were dreſſed in the Hungarian, the Turkiſh, the Italian, and the French manner; and uſed the ſame variety in the choice of their cavalry and armour. Imitating the neighbouring Aſiatics in the finery of the latter, as well as of their garbs, they wore divers rich ornaments of furrs, ſilk, and embroideries. The king having entered Cracow in the

his arrival in Cracow,

* Gratiani, liv. iv. chap. 14.

evening,

evening, the flambeaux, and the ſound of the trumpets and artillery added a magnificence to the ſplendid proceſſion made by the military bands. Two days after, when the antient ceremony of his kiſſing the Goſpels, and the relicks in the church of Staniſlaus, the patron ſaint of Poland, was performed; the ſenate, with all the officers of ſtate, aſſembled, in order to proceed to the king's coronation. Book VI. 1574.

Upon this ſolemn occaſion, Henry had a ſpecimen of the genius of the ſtate and people, over whom he was called to reign. The palatine of Cracovia, who had headed the oppoſition in the general diet, obſerving that the addition to the king's engagements about religious toleration, he had inſiſted upon, and that had been partly promiſed by Monluc, was paſſed over, he began to awake into rage, and excite thoſe around him to join in an exclamation. "The liberties of our country, ſaid he, aloud, are not ſufficiently ſecured againſt French fraudulence. The cunning man muſt be bound by ſtronger fetters." When the archbiſhop of Gneſna, notwithſtanding the noiſe, was about to offer the prayer previous to the ceremony, he redoubled his outcry, and in the ſtyle of a tribune of antient Rome, thus expreſſed his indignation. "We are ſlaves, and no longer free, if ſilence be all the anſwer made to our demand of natural and juſt privileges. Unleſs the conditions required be annexed to the king's oath, I openly proteſt againſt the procedure of his coronation." A confuſed murmur aroſe in the aſſembly, and the cry of the factious required to be reſtrained. Henry, who had never ſeen the licentiouſneſs of a popular aſſembly, was in confuſion; when Pibrac, better acquainted with it, after turning to the king, and appearing to receive his orders, pronounced a command with a magiſterial air and firm voice to the archbiſhop, to go on in doing

and his coronation.

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doing his office; adding, that all diſputes ſhould be fterwards determined by the ſuffrages of the meeting. In a little the vociferation ſubſided, and many of thoſe who had raiſed it joined in the applauding ſalutation, that reſounded through the whole aſſembly. It is ſaid, that the king was alſo ſurprized upon his entrance on the confines of Poland, with the firſt ſalutation he met with from the military order, which ſavoured of the cuſtoms of the antient Sarmatians *. A cavalier detached from the troops, having rode up to his train, drew his ſabre, and gave himſelf a ſtab in the arm. While he received the blood that flowed from it into his hand, he ſaid to the king, "Woe to him, my lord, that is of this country, and will not ſhed all the blood in his veins for your ſervice. Now therefore, I will not loſe theſe drops of mine, but keep them for that end." He then poured them into his mouth. The gifts offered him by ſome of the nobility † were likewiſe a novelty to Henry, who underſtood not that they conſtituted a large portion of the revenue of the kings of Poland, being reckoned from the donations of the officers of the crown and the magiſtrates to amount to a hundred and fifty thouſand florins. When the firſt of them were preſented to him, Henry ſaid, "that the kings of France did not enrich themſelves with the bounties of their vaſſals, and that he had been more accuſtomed to give than to receive." His natural liberality diſpoſed him to practiſe this maxim. He beſtowed all the poſts and offices, vacant ſince the death of the late king, with the moſt courteous generoſity; and when he had exhauſted this fund of beneficence, he granted penſions upon his patrimonial revenues in France. Such inſtances of a bounteous ſpirit, always engaging in a king, ſo captivated the Poliſh nobility, that they generally adored him, and figured to themſelves the utmoſt happineſs

* P. Daniel, p. 997.

† Matthieu, p. 367. Gratiani, ibid.

from

from his reign. But from this preliminary part of it, no true judgment could be formed. The manners of the prince and the people were evidently very different; and the advices Henry received from France, about the increaſe of Charles's diſtemper, made him regard his attainment of the Poliſh royalty as an impediment to his eventual acceſſion to that throne, which it was natural for him to value above all foreign dignities.

CHAP. IV.

Inſurrection of the proteſtants upon Shrove-Tueſday—*Diſappointment of it, from Alençon's unſteadineſs—Condemnation of la Molle and de Conconas—The marſhals Montmorency and de Coſſe arreſted—Damville's appearance as chief partizan of the malecontents—St. Lo beſieged, and the count de Montgomery taken priſoner in Normandy—The reſiſtance of the proteſtants ſuſpended by a truce—Death of Charles* IX.*—His character—Concluſion of the hiſtory—Account of the cuſtoms, manners, laws, and literature of the age.*

Book VI. 1574. The proteſtants, excited by the malecontents, make an inſurrection

THE connection of the proteſtants and malecontents in France, was not only natural in the ſituation of theſe parties, but their ſympathy with each other tended to heighten their animoſity againſt the court, and hurry them both to violent meaſures *. The former, in effect, were already in arms, ſome of their old provincial chiefs, as Montbrun, Monguion, le Caſe and others, having begun their excurſions in the remoter diſtricts, where the truces were ſeldom maintained between them and the catholics. By the confederacy of Languedoc and la Noue's declaring himſelf convinced of the neceſſity of taking arms, the commotions ſoon became more general. Rochelle only made ſome ſcruples, till an undertaking of ſome adventures to ſurprize the town, in which there was ſome reaſon to believe they were authoriſed by the queen mother, ſoon removed it. Though the king diſavowed any concern in this breach of the peace, the ſuſpicions of the Rochellers were confirmed by the declarations of the priſoners they took. It is certain that, though Catherine could not aſſume all the

* D'Aubigne, chap. 4. Thuan. p. 1151.

royal

royal authority, ſhe ventured ſo far, on account of the king's indiſpoſition, to act upon her own plan, that the Montmorencies and their party, as well as the proteſtants, had every thing to fear from her abſolute ſway in the ſtate, upon the event of the king's death. It was generally credited among the latter, from private informations ſent them from the malecontents about the court, that the maſſacres would be renewed at this juncture. In this temper, and under theſe apprehenſions *, the general inſurrection of the proteſtants, called that of *Shrove-Tueſday*, took place. Beſides what they held in Languedoc, it was attended with the ſeizure and revolt of many towns and places in Xaintonge, Dauphiny, the Vivarez, and by the count de Montgomery's paſſage from England into Normandy, extended into that province and ſome other diſtricts. It was la Noue's advice to fix upon that holy day for the execution of the enterprizes, as the riots in which the catholics indulged themſelves, afforded an opportunity to attack them unawares, and the event proved the advantage of it. But that part of the deſign, which connected it with the eſcape of the duke of Alençon, who now took the title of Anjou, was defeated. Though in conſequence of a reſolution taken by Thore, the viſcount of Turenne and others, intimates of the duke's, to put matters to the utmoſt trial with him, Guitri, an able captain, with two hundred of the beſt appointed cavalry, took his ſtation in the neighbourhood of St. Germain en Laye; the variableneſs of the duke of Anjou was ſuch, that la Molle, either ſtill fearing it, or deſirous to ingratiate himſelf, and gain more credit with the court, with the view of turning it afterwards to the ſervice of his maſter, thought fit to reveal the plot laid for his flight to the queen mother. Her ſur-

upon Shrove-Tueſday;

but, by the unſteadineſs of Alençon,

* Sully, D'Aubigne, chap. 5.

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prize was conſiderable; but to alarm the king the more, ſhe affected the utmoſt conſternation. After cauſing a ſearch to be made through every corner of the caſtle for hidden aſſaſſins, and aſſuring the king that the diviners had bid him beware of St. Germain, ſhe pronounced his ſtay there to be unſafe, and hurried the whole court to Paris, and from thence to the Bois des Vincennes. Here the king of Navarre and the duke were detained, though not as priſoners, yet under watch, and without the liberty of going out of the caſtle. They were alſo obliged to publiſh their diſavowal and deteſtation of this conſpiracy; that their ſecret friends might believe they were deſerted by them. Thore, Meru, and others, made their elopement, and the prince of Condé being occaſionally abſent at Amiens, found means of eſcaping with them afterwards into Germany.

its main aim defeated.

THE queen mother having found out ſuch a plot as ſhe could have wiſhed, underſtood perfectly how to improve it to her purpoſes. In the languiſhing * condition of Charles's health, the quick and † ſenſible impreſſions it made upon him, were altogether favourable to her procedure, and ſhe ſo exaggerated the informations ſhe pretended to have about the nature of the conſpiracy, that the preſidents of the parliament, de Thou and Hanneguin, were commanded by the king to enquire into it, and proſecute with the utmoſt diligence and ſeverity all that could be diſcovered to have any knowledge in the treaſonable deſign ‡. In the mean time, the duke of Anjou, repenting of his unſteadineſs and facility, which reduced him to the ſtate of a priſoner, and the king of Navarre, juſtly conceiving apprehenſions about Catharine's practices againſt him, had formed a freſh deſign in Eaſter-week of eſcaping

The queen mother making the moſt of the conſpiracy,

* Brantome Eloge, tom. iv. † D'Aubigne, ibid. ‡ Matth. p. 374.

in

in diſguiſe. A diſcovery of this being alſo made, the queen mother was enabled, by means of Brinon, whoſe circumſtances had degraded him into one of her ſpies and informers, to give a new turn to the accuſations and the whole proceſs. Being introduced as an evidence, he accuſed la Molle and the count de Coconas, a Piedmonteſe, who was alſo a favourite of the duke of Anjou's, and a number of other partizans of the malecontents; ſome of whom were immediately apprehended and brought to their trial *. It would be ſuperfluous and unentertaining to inſert an account of the various depoſitions of the witneſſes and their contradictory informations about facts known to them only from hearſay. In the management of the proſecution, Catherine's art and cruelty plainly appeared. She had laid her hands on ſome evidences, who, on the hope of pardon, to ſave themſelves from the ſcrutiny of the torture, were capable of affirming any thing, and extending the accuſations all the length ſhe deſired. It is obſerved by ſeveral of the hiſtorians, that the duke of Anjou diſcovered the meanneſs of his ſpirit and the depravity of his heart, by a confeſſion which betrayed himſelf, and expoſed the lives of his chief favourites; while the king of Navarre, in ſo critical a ſeaſon, ſuſtained his early reputation, and the character of an injured prince †. His declaration was not ſimply defenſive of himſelf, but an arraignment of the conduct of the court, and of the treatment he had ſuffered. What both princes acknowledged amounted to little more than what the miniſtry before had frequently learned, about their entering into meaſures for making a retreat from the court. But the heap of incoherent confeſſions and alledgances raked together from the teſtimonies of the witneſſes, gave the whole matter a

* Addit. aux Caſtelnau, liv. vi.

† Matthieu, p. 374.

dark

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dark and ambiguous appearance; upon which a very oppoſite judgment might be formed; either that there was a formed deſign of inſurrection and civil war, to place the duke of Anjou upon the throne on the king's death; or that the queen mother, from this apprehenſion, deſirous to hold him and the king of Navarre at her mercy, gave them ſuch ground to dread her deſigns againſt them, as ſhe knew would prompt them and their confidents to expoſe themſelves, by taking ſome raſh and reſentful counſels, which ſhe could eaſily defeat *. According to this laſt opinion, ſeveral of the French writers, conſidering the irreſolution of the duke of Anjou, the diſcovery of the deſign of his eſcape by his intimates, and the early detection of the whole intrigue by Catherine, are diſpoſed to think that ſhe forged a plot where there was no more but the ſhadow of one. The ſtroke of terror to the diſaffected ſhe contrived to diſcharge on la Molle and de Conconas, who, with one or two more, were immediately beheaded. It was a chief article of inditement againſt the firſt, that he practiſed ſorceries to ſhorten the king's life, becauſe he had kept an image of wax in his houſe, ſtuck with ſome pins through the middle; though he affirmed to the laſt, that it was given him by an Italian to procure the love of a miſtreſs he had in Provence; and what was confeſſed by the other in the view of pardon, was made uſe of as the main evidence for his condemnation. Such chimerical and iniquitous proofs render the judgment of the cauſe difficult; and ſome writers of memoirs perplex it more †, by making la Molle and Conconas the victims of love and jealouſy. Such anecdotes being to the taſte of the French, are often adopted by their hiſtorians.

gets two favourites of Alençon's condemned,

* Le Laboureur, ibid. Matthieu, ibid.

† Memoirs of the duke of Nevers, cited in a note on Sully. Henault, p. 346.

But

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BUT the queen mother's aim reached higher than to the impeachment and death of ſome of the inferior partizans of the duke of Anjou and the malecontents. She had an eye to the arreſtment of thoſe ſhe looked on as the moſt formidable leaders of faction. Though Thore, Meru, and others, had eſcaped, the marſhals de Montmorency and Coſſe remained within the graſp of her power; and notwithſtanding there were only ſuch ſlight and trivial accuſations againſt them as could not found a plauſible charge, it was enough that they were diſperſed as abettors of the conſpiracy. Charles, the more liable to ſuſpicion, and to yield to her dictates, the more his ſpirits were waſted, was eaſily prevailed on to agree to the meaſure of ſecuring their perſons. To conceal the intention *, they were only ordered to attend the king; and they obeyed without taking the alarm. The quarters aſſigned them in the innermoſt apartment of the caſtle created ſuſpicion, and they were adviſed by their friends to provide for their ſafety by a retreat; which they could eaſily have accompliſhed. But reſtrained by a ſenſe of honour, and confident that his enemies could make nothing of their charge againſt him, Montmorency would not extricate himſelf from the hazard at the expence of his reputation; and de Coſſe adhered to his ſentiments. In three days they were made priſoners by d'Auchi, captain of the king's guard, and carried to Paris, and from thence into the Baſtile, in the midſt of the exultations of the Pariſians; who from enmity to the Montmorencies, and the moderate catholics, readily agreed to furniſh an extraordinary guard of eight hundred men, during the time of their impriſonment. Upon the ſame day, guards were placed about the king of Navarre and the duke of Anjou; and † queen Catherine, willing to make

* Thuan. p. 1160. D'Aubigne, ibid. † Matthieu, ibid.

every

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every thing ſecure, and to loſe no part of her triumph, had taken meaſures for depriving the marſhal d'Amville of his government, and ſeizing his perſon. But the grounds of ſuſpicion given him, by the coming of d'Acier, now duke d'Uſoz, into the province, who had lately attached himſelf to the court, and was his adverſary, and by ſome packets intercepted, had ſo far warned him of his danger, that he immediately poſſeſſed himſelf of Montpelier and three other towns in Languedoc, without making any declarations. St. Sulpice and the ſecretary Villeroy being ſent by the court to him, under the colour of accommodating the diſſentions of the province, he by various pretexts avoided an interview with them, till Martinengues came with the king's orders to ſeize him, and to prohibit the military officers every where to obey him. But being by this time adviſed by his friends at court of the fate of his brother the marſhal, he prepared to oppoſe the execution of theſe menaces, and to ſtand on his defence. As he was the only one of his illuſtrious family who now appeared in the ſcene of action, and ſuſtained afterwards the new character of head of the party called the Politicians which increaſed in the kingdom, and ſubſiſted by his protection for a long time in oppoſition to the Guiſes, and the violent adminiſtration of the government; we may add as a concluſion to the hiſtory given of the Montmorencies, ſome particulars of his character ‡. His perſon, well made and graceful, was moſt remarkable for an air of dignity; and Mary queen of Scots is ſaid to have preferred him to the other chieftains of the court. His natural ſpirit, which was rather haughty, appeared not only in the conteſt he had with Monluc; but in the letter he wrote on that occaſion to the king. The

of which Damville receiving advice,

prepared to defend himſelf.

His character.

‡ Addit. aux Caſtelnau, tom. ii. liv. iv. Brantome.

education

education of the courtiers in that age, unleſs deſtined for the church, was ſuch, that he was totally unacquainted with letters. He could ſcarce read, and his ſubſcription was rather a mark than the letters of his name. His ſtrong natural parts concealed this defect. He dictated himſelf all his letters, and ſigned them as he could; and in all affairs ſhewed ſo great ability, that thoſe who admired him, ſaid that the ſciences were only a neceſſary help to ſuch as were not born with a ſufficient natural genius. He was not only governor; but had a commiſſion like that of the king's lieutenant-general in the ſouthern provinces, where the catholics had the utmoſt difficulty of ſupporting themſelves againſt proteſtants. Forced to the defence of himſelf againſt the preſent perſecutions of his family; he is reckoned to have prevented, in the moſt ſingular circumſtances, the ſubverſion of the catholic intereſt and religion in many places; and by his management and his treaties with the proteſtants, to have ſaved a province to France, which run the greateſt hazard of being diſmembered from it. He was afterwards, in better times, created duke of Montmorency, and conſtable of France. His firm attachment to the catholic religion, appeared by his dying in the habit of St. Francis, 1614.

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The defence neceſſary againſt the inſurrections of the proteſtants completed the abſolute ſway of the queen mother in the kingdom, by giving her the direction of three armies, which were immediately ordered to be formed in Normandy, Poictou, and Dauphiny; and to be commanded by Matignon, the king's lieutenant in the firſt of theſe provinces, by the duke of Monpenſier, and by his ſon the prince Dolphin in the others *. The count of

Three armies being formed in ſeveral provinces,

* Thuan. p. 1160. D'Avila. D'Aubigne, chap. 7.

Book VI. 1574. Montgomery's attempt upon Normandy being chiefly dreaded, the principal attention of the court was directed to fruſtrate his deſign of ſeizing ſome of the maritime towns, the effectuating of which would open a paſſage for Engliſh, or other foreign ſuccours, and might expoſe the kingdom by revolt of places ſo contiguous to the capital. Upon that ſide, therefore, the greateſt diligence was uſed to draw together the beſt troops. But Colombiere and Guitri having ſurpriſed St. Lo and Domfrant; the count landed at the former of theſe towns, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of Carenton and Vologues. While they were occupied in fortifying theſe places in conſiderable ſtrength, Matignon having with the utmoſt expedition aſſembled his forces, advanced into lower Normandy; and after making a feint of turning towards Valognes, ſuddenly puſhed the van of his army to that ſide of St. Lo which communicated by the river with the ſea; and ſoon ſhut up all paſſage from the town, either by ſhips or the land. Montgomery, unprovided with forage for his cavalry, and ſenſible that his defence of a weak town might diſappoint all his other projects, reſolved to force one of the poſts of the enemy, and betake himſelf where he could act with more ſafety and advantage. Having encouraged Colombiere to make the beſt reſiſtance, he ſallied out with a hundred and fifty horſemen in the night, broke through ſeveral guards and entrenchments of the catholics, and hardly loſing one of his ſoldiers, reached Carentan, whence he paſſed to Domfront, to meet with ſome proteſtant gentry arrived there from the interior parts of the province. By taking this courſe, it is likely that the count, knowing how particularly obnoxious he was to the queen mother's revenge, conſulted his own ſecurity as much as the ſervice of his party; and he had now more reaſon for being cautious than he was fully aware of. His departure occaſioned a council of war

Matignon, who commanded one of them in Normandy,

beſieges St. Lo;

to

to be held by the catholic commanders; in which it was deliberated whether they ought to continue the ſiege, or to follow him; and Matignon, whoſe inſtructions directed him to regard the taking of Montgomery priſoner, as a main object of his enterpriſe, got it determined, that without abandoning the ſiege of St. Lo, ſuch a large detachment ſhould be made from the army, as would be ſufficient to inveſt Domfront, or any of the other towns to which he might retire. This unexpected meaſure proved ſucceſsful. By the expeditious march of ſix hundred cavalry and two regiments of foot, conducted by St. Colombe, and followed by another body of troops under Matignon himſelf, the count, having no intelligence of their approach, was ſurpriſed in Domfront, where he had ſcarce two hundred ſoldiers to form a garriſon, and among them ſeveral of the gentry, unwilling to ſhare his hazardous fate, began to parley with the catholics, and deſert to them. In this extremity, Montgomery performed all that could be expected from his experience and his valour, and after defending the town for ſome days, made his retreat into the caſtle. Here he endured an aſſault, and repulſed the enemy with conſiderable ſlaughter and the loſs of St. Colombe and ſome other eminent officers. What is remarked of one of them, ſhews the gallantry that prevailed among the warriors of thoſe times. Having received a ſhot in his head, which deprived him of ſpeech, he came into the neareſt tent, and made a ſign to have a pen and paper brought him; and ſitting down to write a letter to his miſtreſs with his blood, he died the moment he had finiſhed it. By this time almoſt every one of Montgomery's combatants as well as himſelf had received wounds; and the ſmall number of them that remained was diminiſhed by deſertion. The terms of a capitulation that had been often propoſed, were at laſt, by the interpoſition of Vaſſé, a relation of

from whence the count of Montgomery having withdrawn, is ſurpriſed in Domfront;

and, after a vain attempt to defend it, capitulates,

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Montgomery's, agreed upon. It is affirmed by d'Aubigne that the count had only ambiguous promiſes of life and a ſafe diſmiſſion given him; while other hiſtorians aſſert, that the detenſion of him was a perfidious breach of the engagement. Though the laſt opinion ſeems moſt probable, it is likely that ſome captious condition about ſurrendering himſelf into Matignon's hands, had been added to the capitulation. To truſt the ſmalleſt ambiguity was, in his circumſtances, improper, and unworthy of his fortitude. He had reaſon to be ſenſible of what he ought to have done, when the catholic forces returned to the ſiege of St. Lo. Being prevailed upon by Matignon to ſolicit Colombiere to avoid the grand aſſault, and accept of honourable conditions; this reſolute chieftain, diſdaining the ſituation to which he ſaw the count reduced, reproached him for not dying like a ſoldier in the breach, rather than be expoſed to ſuffer by an executioner. "It becomes you indeed, ſaid he in an ironical tone, to propoſe your behaviour as a pattern to me, when mine will now ſtand you in no ſtead. But I ſhall take care to teach my companions how they ought to die." He took his ſtation in the middle of the breach of ſeventy paces, with his two little ſons on each ſide of him; one of them being twelve, and the other only ten years old. The character of the man, as well as of the brave commander, was diſcovered in this action. Rigid and ſtaunch in his religious principles, he now acted from the emotion of them. "In yielding my life to God, ſaid he to thoſe around him, I at the ſame time offer to him what I hold deareſt in the world. It is better for them to die undiſhonoured and uncorrupted with their father, than to fall into the hands of the reprobate tribe, who may pervert them." A ball having pierced his head, he ſoon fell, and the breach was preſently abandoned by his followers.

followers. Compaſſion moved the catholic ſoldiers to ſave the lives of his forlorn offspring. His death was regretted by his party as a general misfortune; and the reduction of St. Lo being ſoon followed by that of Carentan and the other forts; the war was terminated in Normandy, and the count de Montgomery carried in triumph to Paris.

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and is carried priſoner to Paris.

It appears that the queen mother, at this juncture, had made the ſeizure of the princes and the chief lords, whoſe oppoſition ſhe feared, her principal plan; and it is alſo * ſaid that ſhe tried to aid her military operations, by a recourſe to the inſidious methods of aſſaſſination. For which purpoſe it was believed that Maurevel and one St. Martin were ſent into Poictou to make an attempt on the life of a la Noue, which failed. In this province the duke of Monpenſier having ſummoned together a number of catholic chieftains with their troops, detached Puy-Gaillard to inveſt Tailemont, while he advanced to form the ſiege of Fontenai. The firſt of theſe places being taken, the duke had the advantage of beſieging the latter with his whole force. But the brave St. Etienne commanded in it, who, by the bold ſally he made into the catholic camp, and the repulſe he gave to the firſt aſſault of the beſiegers, cooled their hopes of being ſoon maſters of the town. At the ſame time la Noue, who had forces ſufficient to make a diverſion in favour of the beſieged, though not to engage the catholic army, appeared in the neighbourhood. From the alarm taken, it was propoſed to draw off ſome cannon from the batteries againſt the town, to ſecure the camp from an attack; when Monpenſier received letters from the queen mother, requiring his immediate

After Montgomery's defeat,

* D'Aubigne, ibid.

attendance

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the proteſtants ſtill continue to make reſiſtance, with the help of malecontents,

attendance upon the king, whoſe life was thought every day in imminent danger. Upon this the ſiege was broke up †. In the mean time the war was continued with little intermiſſion in Languedoc, where the ſtrength of the proteſtants was moſt entire, and in Dauphiny, where they had poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral places of importance. The flight of the prince of Condé to Straſbourgh, where he publicly renounced his late forced abjuration of the proteſtant religion, contributed to maintain the civil commotions, and animate the proteſtants to truſt their fortune to the deciſion of war, rather than to the experienced treacheries of the court. He gave them aſſurances, that after his father's example he would be devoted to the ſupport of their cauſe, for which he was then endeavouring to procure auxiliary troops from Germany, in hopes that the levy money promiſed by them would be remitted. Thore's letters to the marſhal Damville were no leſs calculated to excite him to an open rupture with the court, and to revenge the treatment of their brother, as a violent ſtretch of arbitrary power that denounced the intended ruin of their whole family. Though the marſhal, naturally ſlow and averſe to ſtate himſelf in oppoſition to the authority of the government, ſtill made uſe of the language of peace and ſubmiſſion; it was evident from the general aſpect of affairs, that notwithſtanding all the queen mother had done to demoliſh the party of the malcontents, and repreſs the inſurrections of the proteſtants, the flame of war and diſcord was too far kindled in the kingdom, to be extinguiſhed by the utmoſt exertion of her power and policy. But a truce was a ſhort time after concluded by Catherine.

until Catherine concludes a truce of three months.

Frequent diſmal ſymptoms had by this time indicated the approaching death of the king. His own apprehenſions of it

† Thuan. p. 1162.

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Charles IX. in the extremity of his illneſs,

appeared ‡, by his allowing letters patent to be tranſmitted to the governors of the provinces, requiring them to obey the orders of his mother, as being veſted with his authority during his preſent indiſpoſition. With this conceſſion, though for ſome time expected by Catherine, he had hitherto declined to gratify her, and by yielding it only in the extremity of his diſtemper, he ſhewed a jealouſy and diſguſt of her uſurpation over him, which ſhe had too long exerciſed. For ſome days longer, the nomination of her by a formal deed to the regency of the kingdom in the event of his death, and during the abſence of his brother the king of Poland, was ſtill deferred; till the morning of the thirtieth of May, when more violent pangs of diſtreſs aſſaulted him. This writ, conceived in a teſtamentary form, being afterwards produced in the parliament in order to its regiſtration, it is ſaid that an objection was ſtarted to it by ſome, who contended that a king of France could make no valid laſt will *. In a very late and important period, this principle, though now over-ruled, was admitted in the government. In the mean time the acceſs of Charles's agonies became more ſevere and exquiſite. The remains of his youthful ſtrength ſtill reſiſting the mortal power of his diſeaſe, he was thrown into terrible convulſions; and in the laſt fits of them, the blood that iſſued through the pores of his body in almoſt every part of it, rendered him a frightful ſpectacle to all his attendants. He ſurvived only till the evening of the day, in which the letters of regency were framed, having not quite completed the twenty-fifth year of his age, nor the fourteenth of his reign †. Conſidering the recent epoch of St. Bartholomew, it was not ſurpriſing,

appoints his mother temporary regent of the kingdom,

and dies on the 30th of May.

‡ Sully. Thuan. ibid. Brantome, tom. iv. p. 17.

* Hiſt. d'Europe, par Voltaire. Henault, p. 585.

† Matthieu, p. 376. Brant. ibid.

that

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that the proteſtants and others made their reflexions on the ſingular circumſtances of his exit; and that, imagining according to the general belief, that a comet which then appeared, predicted his death, they pronounced it in their writings, *the ſtar of the Eaſt*, which now ſhone forth again for the comfort of the faithful, and the diſmay of the *Herods*. His character, of which ſome traits have been already given, was conſtituted of ſuch various and oppoſite ingredients, that the hiſtorians have generally enumerated them without marking their coherence, and ſignified rather what ſort of a prince he might have been, than what he ſhewed himſelf. Setting aſide the temporary eruptions of his choler and fury, which ſhewed the vice of his temper, and perhaps of his family blood, and his groſs diſſimulation contracted from his baſe education ‡; Charles IX. poſſeſſed ſeveral qualities, and exerciſed ſome that were conſonant to the dignity of his birth, and worthy of a king. Quick in his apprehenſion of things, and diſcerning in the characters of men, his elocution was nervous and maſculine; and his addreſs, though not graceful, was ſtriking; and he could readily adapt them both, to his ſubject and his purpoſes. He was, after ſome exceſſes, temperate and abſtemious in his diet, in his ſleep, in the uſe of wine, in the indulgence of his amours, and in all pleaſures, but in his paſſion for hunting *. His courage and intrepidity were from ſeveral proofs inconteſtible. He was no leſs alert and dexterous than indefatigable in horſemanſhip, and other martial exerciſes. Moroſe in his natural temper, he was ſuch likewiſe in his judgments of the merit of men; and unexpenſive in his own pleaſures and habits, he was rather ſparing and illiberal in the favours and benefits he beſtowed. From that ſtrange mixture which is often found in the human compoſition,

His character.

‡ Thuan. ibid. * Brantome, p. 26.

his

his angry paſſions that roſe to frenzy, did not extinguiſh the ſparks of his genius, nor the barbarities to which he gave way, ſtifle his taſte for muſic, poetry, and the gentle arts. He not only admired and encouraged them; but compoſed verſes himſelf; and thoſe he wrote in praiſe of Ronſard are reckoned equal to the beſt of that poet's odes. He alſo compiled a book on his favourite occupation of the chace. De Cipierre, a man well qualified for the office, was his governor; but by his early death, Charles was left to the tutory of himſelf, and became chiefly attached to the count de Retz. He was too unequal and wild in his temper to have cordial friends, or to be guided by favourites. His preceptor was James Amiot, a butcher's ſon of Melun, whoſe knowledge of Latin and Greek having recommended him to this employment, he was rewarded by Charles with the office of grand almoner, and promoted to the biſhoprick of Lizieux. In his perſon he was tall, but not well ſhaped †. His head being a little inclined to one ſide, his ſhoulders were bent, and his legs thin and diſproportioned. The bile of his conſtitution often tinged his eyes with yellow, and which added to their haggard look. His mien was fierce, and his complexion pale. Yet upon the whole, his gait and appearance were ſtately and majeſtic.

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When he is conſidered as a ſovereign, we ought to take into the view of Charles's character, that of his ſituation, which was in many reſpects unhappy and diſadvantageous. His youth bred up in the midſt of civil broils, the antipathies contracted againſt a part of his ſubjects at that early age, and the inevitable aſcendancy of the queen mother over him, were circumſtances that debaſed the talents he had for government, and obſtructed his application and

† Matthieu, p. 77.

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improvement of them. Such was the embroiled ſtate of the kingdom, that it cannot be ſuppoſed, for the moſt part of his reign, that a prince of greater genius and more virtues, without additional years and experience, could have found a remedy for it. Placed in the vortex of Catherine's Italian policy, he was hurried along with it; and became unhappily, through the atrocity of his temper, acceſſary to the miſchiefs and ignominy it produced. Excluded from the command of his armies, for which nature ſeemed to have qualified him; he could not at his years ſhew himſelf the intelligent legiſlator, and the wiſe magiſtrate. As the athletic and robuſt exerciſes were then in vogue, and had a ſhare of honour and fame, he betook himſelf to the foreſts and the woods in purſuit of the wild game, and outdid in boldneſs, activity and vigilance, the moſt undaunted huntſmen *. He got a forge erected for him, where he laboured himſelf in fabricating gun-barrels, horſe-chains, and other pieces of ſmith-work. He valued himſelf on the talent of coining the different pieces of ſpecie; and falſifying the crown, the double ducat, and the teſtoon, with the greateſt art. When he ſhewed one of them to the cardinal of Lorain for his approbation, "Ah Sir, ſaid the prelate, you can do whatever you pleaſe, for you always carry your pardon in your own pocket." To this inceſſant action, and ſmall delight in the cabinet, it was owing ‖, that *Villeroy*, his ſecretary, was frequently ordered by him to ſign the diſpatches of ſtate, which had been always done before by the king himſelf, and from this faulty precedent, the ſecretaries afterwards are reckoned to have continued the practice †. From the continual broils of the ſtate, another innovation became neceſſary, which was that of a complete regiment of guards, beſides the arch-

Particular anecdotes of his character, and of his reign.

* Brantome, p. 29. ‖ Henault, p. 347. † Matthieu, ibid.

ers, the antient attendants on the king and the palace ‡. But if we may judge, by what is averred of Charles's reſolutions in the latter part of his reign, after the departure of his brother into Poland, he had not only ſeen the errors and abuſes of his government, but had a full purpoſe to correct them, and regulate his cabinet councils in a different manner. It appears certain, that he entertained upon reflection a thorough diſguſt at the maſſacres, and bore no good will to thoſe who had involved him in the horror and infamy of them. Having cauſe to be diſſatisfied with the queen mother's uſurpations of authority, and her partialities to his brother, he is ſaid to have deſigned to have got rid of her influence in the ſtate, by ſending her on a viſit to the king of Poland. He had diſcernment ſufficient to convince him, that, abſtracting from religious motives of diſſention, the two families of Guiſe and Montmorency were the ſupports of faction, and embroiled the ſtate by their enmities; and it is alledged, that he intended to take meaſures for the reduction of their power *. His diſlike of the duke of Guiſe, and his deſire of mortifying him, appeared in various inſtances; ſome inſolencies the duke ſhewed, having provoked Charles's ſpleen and reſentment againſt him. Upon his death bed he expreſſed the ſentiments of a king concerned for the future welfare of his people. He ſpoke feelingly of the unhappy ſituation of princes in minority †; and ſaid, "that he was better pleaſed to die without an heir, than to leave the kingdom to one under age; when France ſtood in need of a man to redreſs her many calamities." By his queen Elizabeth of Auſtria, he had a daughter who ſurvived him but a ſhort time. He was known to have but one miſtreſs, named Mary Touchet,

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‡ De Serres, Sully, Thuan. * Matthieu, p. 378. † Brantome, p. 21.

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daughter of a lieutenant of police in Orleans, by whom he had a ſon, dignified firſt with the title of grand prior, and then of count d'Avergne ‡. It is remarked as a ſingularity by father Daniel, that the count's ſecond ſpouſe was alive a hundred and thirty years after the death of Charles her ſtep-father. He was entombed with little ceremony, and before the convoy of his funeral reached St. Denis, there remained about it, only Brantome, four other gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and the guard of archers.

Concluſion of the hiſtory.

After having fully unfolded the calamitous ſtate of France from the ſucceſſive civil wars, and the almoſt perpetual turbulence of this reign, a concluſive declamation on the miſeries of the kingdom may be omitted. In reviewing them, we may juſtly commiſerate a nation naturally humane, ingenious in the culture of arts, attached to their kings, and poſſeſſed of the generous ſpirit of valour; whoſe unhappy fate it was, to deviate in a great degree from this character; and immediately after the flouriſhing reigns of Francis I and Henry II. to undergo that ſtrange and barbarous transformation, which is always conſequent to the prevalence of religious fury and inteſtine factions. When France ſeemed to be the nation in Europe, which, from the temper of her government and her people, promiſed the faireſt to take the lead in arts and arms; the adherence to one erroneous principle about religion, and the exerciſe of violent perſecutions, marred her progreſs. The practice of this enthuſiaſtical rule of government agitated the ſtate and nation, and produced theſe outrageous and deſolating wars, that we have deſcribed. Fed by the flame of them, the original hatred againſt the proteſtants increaſed; and it became a point of

‡ Ibid. p. 1014. Henault, p. 346.

honour

honour with the ſtate, as well as a principle among the vulgar, to have them, by any means, utterly deſtroyed. To conſummate the various attempts made for this end, at length, by a vindictive princeſs, the maſſacres were perpetrated. The conſequence of this execrable meaſure was not apprehended fully by Catherine of Medicis. By authorizing the ferocious rage of the violent catholics, it confirmed the claim of their leaders to predominancy in the ſtate. The juſtification of the maſſacres, to which the king and court were conſtrained, eſtabliſhed the creed of the populace, and furniſhed the Guiſes with plauſible arguments in favour of their political doctrine; that the government ought to go on to extirpate and deſtroy, and to make an end as it had begun. Intent always on temporary artifices, without ſtudying the more permanent rules of adminiſtration, Catherine finiſhed her eſſays on the government of the kingdom, under Charles IX, by perſecuting the Montmorencies, as conſpirators with the duke of Alençon againſt the ſtate. In this manner, from the view of diſabling the proteſtants from all oppoſition, and removing every impediment in the way of her favourite ſon's acceſſion to the crown; Catherine abandoned altogether her former fundamental maxim of preſerving a balance among the parties. It was manifeſt, that unleſs the future king was capable of exerting a more than common meaſure of genius and authority, the ponderating power on one ſide was ſo great, that the royalty and the ſtate would be carried forcibly along with it. A few years of the enſuing reign only paſſed, when this natural event took place, by the origin of the *catholic league*; of which all the principles and cauſes were already engendered and matured in the kingdom. To above twenty years more of civil broils was the kingdom of France conſigned by it; as if providence had intended a long and ſignal puniſhment of

BOOK VI. her inſults on the principles of humanity and the civil privileges of mankind.

Additional obſervations,

To complete the hiſtory of France, during the period that has been delineated; it remains only to give ſome account of the cuſtoms, manners, laws, literature and taſte in the ſciences and arts, which prevailed in that æra of the monarchy. Some particulars relative to them, that have been ſuperficially mentioned in the courſe of the hiſtory, will be more illuſtrated by theſe additional remarks.

upon the cuſtoms of the age:

THE cuſtoms of the court and nation, were the ſame with what they had been in the reigns of Francis I. and his ſon *. Inſtead of the grand ſhows of the antient *Cours plenieres*, to which, on certain holy days, all the great nobility reſorted; inſtead of the diſtaſte of magnificence, into which the court fell after the devaſtations of the kingdom in the reign of Charles VII. and that continued under Lewis XI. and the two following reigns; a ſpecies of pomp and luxury, ſuited to the more cultivated genius of the monarch, and the affluence of the ſtate, was introduced by Francis; and ſerved as the model of the courtly entertainments for a long time after. His example in rendering the court a receptacle for the ladies, and mixing their gallantry with its ſplendid amuſements; was not only followed by Catherine of Medicis, but, voluptuous as well as political, ſhe propagated the taſte for expence, in equipage and finery of every kind among the courtiers, from a deſire to pleaſe and be entertained; and alſo with the view of mollifying their hardy and martial temper by theſe allurements. Aſſemblies

* Le Gendre, ibid. p. 17.

of

of the dames at balls, plays, and feſtivities, became uſual at court; and a part of its expence conſiſted in the preſents and liberalities they received. They ſuperintended the matches made at the ring, the feats of agility, and all the martial ſports and exerciſes of the nobility. Catherine often carried the retinue of her *Sirens* to the camp, and in the many conferences ſhe held in the courſe of the civil wars, her parties of pleaſure and her balls frequently contraſted the warlike exploits. Every cavalier owned his flame and his vows to ſome miſtreſs, and went forth elevated to the campaign with ſome badge of her favour to him. It has been obſerved that the Gothic nations were tenacious of their cuſtoms; and thoſe eſpecially of the martial kind were tranſmitted from age to age. Such conſtant attachment was ſhewn by moſt of them to the feats of arms called *Tournaments* or *Jouſts*. Their * origin is traced back to the fifth century, and it is certain, the French hiſtory affords examples of them in the reign of Charles the bald. Though more than twenty princes are reckoned to have periſhed in them, they ſtill maintained their reputation through many reigns till that of Henry II.; whoſe death did not altogether put a ſtop to them †. Eight or nine months after the firſt civil war, there was a tournament at Fontainbleau, which, contrary to a vow ſhe had made, after what befel her huſband, the queen mother permitted. At the entrance of the barrier, or liſts, called the *Pas d'Armes* then held by the prince of Condé, and the duke of Nemours, a hermitage was erected. Here the champions, who deſired acceſs to the martial combats, preſented themſelves, and received an anſwer to their petition from one in the habit of a hermit. In the tournaments they generally uſed lances without

* Ibid. p. 51. † Brantome Eloge de Charles IX. Tom. iv. p. 26.

heads

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heads of iron, and ſwords without an edge or point ‡. The annunciation of them was made with great formality, by the heralds at arms. Two or more judges of the liſts were appointed, and all the rules of chivalry were obſerved in the conduct of them. Scaffolds were raiſed around the incloſed ground for the ſpectators, where the ladies occupied the firſt places; and many of the ceremonies having a reference to their honour, they diſtributed prizes among the victors. They were the theatres of the martial ages, in which the young nobility ſhewed their addreſs in arms, and their other accompliſhments, and learned to acquit themſelves in every circumſtance of their behaviour as became true knights. Much the ſame forms took place in what came to be named the *Pas d'Armes*, though this ſpecies of the tournament which obtained in the reign of Charles IX. was leſs magnificent, and being leſs crowded with combatants, was expoſed to fewer accidents. As the tournaments declined, carouſals and warlike ballets were ſubſtituted in their room. At this period, the *judicial* duels of the feudal times were exploded; though examples of them were beheld ſo late as the reigns of Francis and Henry; and it may be obſerved from ſome paſſages in the preceding hiſtory, that the princes of the court ſo far retained the idea of their legality, as to make uſe of the public challenge to the proof of arms, for the vindication of their honour. When now they were no longer permitted, the point of honour began to be decided by private duels, which prevailed during the civil wars of France to an exceſſive pitch. By the number of ſeconds often employed, they became petty combats; and no prohibitions prevailed to ſuppreſs their pernicious rage.

‡ Le Gendre, p. 50. Matthieu, p. 203.

IT is certain, as a celebrated writer affirms, that virtue * is not the eſſential principle of monarchical government. In its antient models, which were almoſt wholly deſpotic, regard to virtue as a political principle could never be maintained, nor its intereſts ſupported. Xenophon's Inſtitutions of Cyrus, hardly calculated for a a prince of Perſia, appear an unſuitable ſyſtem for an emperor of *Media* and of Babylon. In the Gothic monarchies and ſtates of Europe, the want of all political diſcipline but that of war, the ſurrender of the education of youth to parental tutory, and other circumſtances, may be ſaid to have excluded virtue as a principle of government; at leaſt the heroic virtue of the antient commonwealths could not be ſuppoſed to ſubſiſt in them. Inſtead of public laws regulating the education and the manners, inſtead of the ſchools of practical virtue, which formed a part of their conſtitution, chivalry became the guide and the incentive to virtuous conduct; and a principle called honour, unknown in the antient philoſophy, and undefined in the modern, aſſumed the place of virtue itſelf. In the ſpeculation upon the manners of the Gothic kingdoms, for a long period, the prevalence of the ſpirit of chivalry, and the efficacy of the principle of honour ought to be conſidered. At the period under conſideration, chivalry had droopt, and being only kept alive by the veſtiges of the tournaments, ſunk into diſrepute along with them. But its *mirrours* being preſerved in the romances, and highly admired, both the ſentiments and manners of the nobility and gentry were generally grounded upon them. Its preſcribed veneration of the tender ſex was indeed converted into gallantry. Their admiſſion to the court and to conſtant intercourſe and familiarity with the men, made them no longer

* L'Eſprit des Loix, liv. iii. chap. 5.

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goddeſſes, or only terreſtrial ones. The antient knights were a ſpecies of *veſtals* in chaſtity, compared with the ſubſequent pretenders to chivalry. To inſpire the amorous paſſion became the vanity of the dames *, who boaſted of the number of their conqueſts, as the men did of their warlike feats. While the modeſty of nature was turned into affectation, and ſenſible paſſion deſpiſed the reſtraints of principle, the manners were corrupted more than ſoftened. The diſſolution appeared in the poetical compoſitions of the times, and the libertine ſonnets. But this effect of the conſtitution of a court of ladies, was agreeable to the natural gallantry of the French nobility, and to the policy of the kings †. Francis I. ſaid, that the ladies made the gentlemen of his court as brave as their ſwords. The efficacy of the principles of honour, which, in the deficiency of all others, became the ſpring of modern monarchies, was favourable to the improvement of the manners; but it was too vague, ſelfiſh and whimſical to give them a regular caſt, and to fix them. It may be ſaid to have communicated a certain pride to the virtues, by making mens ſentiments the original and the meaſure of them, without regard to extraneous laws or dictates. It illuſtrated the characters of men, by rendering them polite without meanneſs, brave without inſenſibility, humane and generous without affectation, and loyal without ſervility. Several of the characters we have deſcribed muſt be allowed to have had ſuch qualities belonging to them. The behaviour of the duke of Guiſe to the prince of Condé when taken priſoner; the treatment of la Noue by the catholic chiefs, and their general eſteem of him, and the anſwers made by thoſe who refuſed to obey the king's orders for the maſſacres, are examples of them. But as in the hiſtories of the civil and religious wars of all nations, the general view

* Henault, p. 599.

† Brantome, tom. i. p. 281.

of

of the character of the French gives a picture of barbarity, in which civil manners and humanity being ſubverted, their valour and contempt of death only appears heroic and laudable. Book VI.

In a reign, ſuch as that of Charles IX. it is ſurpriſing to find a new birth given to the French laws. To the ſignal capacity and endowments of the chancellor and de l'Hoſpital, the kingdom of France, as has been obſerved, owed this obligation. He died in the month of March 1573, about the ſeventieth year of his age, the more entitled to the character of a legiſlator and a patriot, that, though the court ſcarce endured his probity and virtue, the warlike nobles deſpiſed it, and the violent party hated his counſels; he aſſiduouſly employed his authority in the functions of his office, to the general benefit of his country. In order to give ſome view of the ſtate of the French laws, and of the procedure of juſtice in civil affairs *, it would be requiſite to trace the hiſtory of the feudal maxims that prevailed in it, and became the original of laws, relative to the tenures of land-property, to the rights of its inheritance or ſucceſſion, to its alienations and entails, which ſubſiſted long after the ſubverſion of the feudal policy. Having included in the hiſtory of two reigns, ſo many explications of the political conſtitution of the French monarchy, as are ſeldom found in the compaſs of ſuch a ſhort period; we ſhall not ſwell it further in the concluſion, by entering into this deduction of the laws. It ſhall only be obſerved, in compliance with curioſity on this ſubject †, that the law of entails in France was, at the time of the ſtates of Orleans, controverted by the nobility; deſirous more of the power and freedom of alienating their eſtates, than of the honour of tranſmitting them in their families. Having eagerly The laws.

* L'Eſprit des Loix, liv. xxx. chap. 1. † Boul. let. 12. Henault, p. 330.

Book VI.

ſolicited the reduction of it; the ſubſtitution of heirs was limited to three degrees. But it appears that the chancellor and the chambers of the parliament had rather yielded to the importunity of the nobles than followed their own ſentiments, in this reſtriction of the law of entails *. By another ſtatute paſſed at the ſame time, they ſeem to have contributed a ſort of compenſation for this infringement of them. It was ordained, that mothers ſhould be excluded from inheriting on the death of their children their paternal eſtates; a regulation which plainly tended to the maintainance of antient families. Without pretending to a regular commentary on the famous edict of *Moulins*, of which a general account has been already given; it will be ſufficient to take notice, that the object of ſeveral of its ſtatutes was, to ſhorten law proceſſes and to leſſen the number of appeals, and even of the courts of juſtice †. The offices of judicature being rendered perpetual and ſaleable in the reign of Francis I. the revenue ariſing from them was looked upon as a golden mine by the court, which added daily to their number. In the reign of Francis II. the chancellor Oliver got an edict publiſhed, impowering the judges of the ſupreme and inferior courts upon a vacancy in them, to nominate to the king three competitors of approved knowledge and integrity, that his majeſty might fix upon one of them. This rule did not take effect, and the venality and the abuſes ſtill continuing, l'Hoſpital endeavoured to check the enormous increaſe of law ſuits, by an edict obliging the pleaders of cauſes to conſign a ſum of money before they were heard, which was forfeited in caſe they were found litigious proſecutors ‡. It was paſſed in the parliament of Paris with much difficulty; and, after ſeven years, fell into diſuſe. It was an exceſs

* Matthieu, p. 379. † Le Gendre, p. 56. Thuan. lib. xxiv. p. 496.
‡ Thuan. p. 709.

in

in the deſign of preventing proceſſes, as the expences of the law itſelf are a ſufficient reſtraint, and had too much the appearance of purchaſing juſtice, which the ſtate owes ‡. In every lordſhip or barony that was not royal, only one court of juſtice was permitted by the edict of Moulins. The abuſe of eccleſiaſtical *monitories* was reſtrained, by a prohibition to iſſue them, except for crimes and ſcandals of a public nature. As the laws improved, the aid of the church in civil affairs was leſs wanted. It is remarkable, that the acts of court were ordered to be ſubſcribed by the parties. Yet the procedure of juſtice in the remoter corners of the kingdom might render the feudal form neceſſary *. It was decreed, that in civil matters the proof of facts by witneſſes only, without a written deed or obligation, ſhould not be ſuſtained, where the tranſactions exceeded the value of a hundred livres. In a commercial ſtate, this regulation would be inconvenient. All irrecoverable deeds of gift were required to be entered within four months in the neareſt public regiſter, otherwiſe they were held null and void. The propriety of this rule appears, by its being adopted in different countries. A debtor, four months after the intimation of the ſentence againſt him, might be arreſted, and kept in priſon, till he made the *ceſſio bonorum*. This law has the reſerve and tardineſs of the feudal procedure, and the lenity of the Roman juriſprudence.

THE following edicts, which were publiſhed at different times, have a reference to the political government †. The ſtatute for changing the computation of the beginning of the year, from Eaſter-Sunday, which was a moveable feaſt, to the firſt of Janu-

‡ Henault, ibid. * Thuan. lib. xxxvii. p. 782. † Ibid. lib. xxxiv. p. 703.

ary,

Book VI. ary, was much oppoſed in the court of parliament, though the reckoning from the feaſt of Aſcenſion now only took place in civil affairs, and was evidently incommodious by its mutability. Obſtinate adherence to eſtabliſhed cuſtom, could only excite contradiction to ſo proper a reformation. It was enacted, that no new books ſhould be printed, or publiſhed without an inſpection of them, and a licence granted by ſome commiſſioners of the privy council. The penalty was death and confiſcation. New books had been often formerly laid under ſevere prohibitions by the parliament; but this groſs addition to the penal laws was intended to reſtrain heretical productions, and licentious libels on the adminiſtration, that then appeared. Particular conjunctures of government have often given riſe to erroneous and improper general laws. It was prohibited by a ſtatute, to project new buildings upon the ſtreets of Paris. A court for commercial affairs was inſtituted in the metropolis, conſiſting of a preſident and four conſuls, elected out of the body of the burgeſſes. It was impowered to determine all cauſes ſummarily and without appeal, which did not go beyond the value of five hundred livres. When the queſtion exceeded this ſum, the judgment ſtill paſſed, upon bail given by the prevailing party, to anſwer to an appeal that might be brought before the parliament. From jealouſy of their privileges, and their activity to have all law ſuits ſubjected to their cognizance, the counſellors of parliament long debated the erection of this court; but they could not hinder its eſtabliſhment, which ſoon gave occaſion to the inſtituting of others on the ſame plan, in ſeveral cities of the kingdom. France, with many natural incitements to commerce, has been checked from attaining all its advantages, by the genius of her government, in oppoſition to that of the bulk of her people. From ſingular emergencies and accidents in the civil wars, ſome queſtions

queſtions of law before the parliament would be rendered curious. The following caſe mentioned by de Thou, is an example *. In the battle of St. Denis, the vidame of Amiens and his ſon being killed, a diſpute aroſe among their heirs about the rights of ſucceſſion; and the deciſion turned upon a fact that could not be aſcertained. The queſtion was, Which of the two had firſt expired? It was properly determined by the parliament of Paris, that the order of nature ought, in ſuch caſes, to be made the rule of judgment, and that the father ſhould be ſuppoſed to have deceaſed before the ſon.

The literature,

THE chief æras of literature in the French monarchy may be reckoned three †; one under Charlemagne, another about the time of Lewis VII. or the beginning of the twelfth century, and the third in the reign of Francis I. In the firſt of them there was a revival of the knowledge of the learned languages, and of the writings of the fathers of the church. In the ſecond, after the importation of Ariſtotle's works from Greece, the metaphyſical philoſophy became the ſtudy of the men of genius; and in the third ‡, when the Latin of the univerſity was turned barbarous, and the Greek almoſt forgot; the ſtudy of both theſe languages was proſecuted with more attention and accuracy, and profeſſors of them, and of the oriental tongues, were eſtabliſhed in a college of royal foundation. It was then Budeus Turnebus, Peter Ramus Lambinus, Vatable, Mercerus Danezius, Durat and others, rendered themſelves famous proficients in claſſical learning, and other erudition. Moſt of them lived in the reigns of Francis II. and Charles IX. Danezius was preceptor to the firſt of theſe princes. It was common among the men of literature to give the Latin

* Lib. xl. p. 835. † Le Gendre, p. 35. ‡ Paſquier, liv. ix. chap. 1.

termi-

Book VI. termination to their names, and ſometimes to make them a compound of Roman and Greek epithets. Their works ſhewed how much they plodded in theſe languages, and what undigeſted ſtore of erudition, men confined all their lives within the walls of colleges, were capable of compiling by their labours. A diſpute that aroſe about the euchariſt in the middle of the eleventh century between two divines, Berenger, archdean of Angers, and Lanfranc, prior of the abbey of Bec, had given ſuch a new caſt to theological controverſy, as laid a foundation for the growth of ſcholaſtic divinity. The firſt of theſe diſputants, hard puſhed by his adverſaries arguments from ſcripture and the fathers, had recourſe to the logics of Ariſtotle, and defended himſelf with ſucceſs by ſophiſm and ſubtile diſtinctions †. He was followed in this tract by Abelard, and de la Poree, biſhop of Poictiers, the former having a genius that qualified him to ſhine in metaphyſical diſputation. Abelard determined to reduce the grounds of theology, and all the ſciences within the province of logic, laid down the dangerous poſition, that nothing was to be believed but what could be proved by reaſon. He could not, however, ſave himſelf and his metaphyſical philoſophy, from a long perſecution. Though it gained reputation, the men of wit only favoured it. At length, after the works of Ariſtotle had been burnt by a council at Paris, and the reading of them prohibited under the menace of excommunication, the commentaries of St. Thomas and others on the famous ſentences of Peter Lombard, produced a ſurpriſing revolution in favour of metaphyſics. Ariſtotle, ſo long perſecuted, obtained a complete triumph in his turn. All other principles of ſcience being proſcribed by the parliaments of France, he reigned as the prince of

† Ibid. liv. vi. chap. 17. Le Gendre, p. 36.

philo-

philoſophers, in the univerſity, and in the ſchools. Every point of divinity being attempted to be explained from his categories and logical diſtinctions dreſſed up in the modes and figures of his ſyllogiſms, the ſyſtem of it was ſwelled into immenſe volumes. The peripatetic philoſophy thus incorporated with the theological ſyſtems, was defended with equal zeal, as the catholic faith. The improvements in literature under Francis I. cauſed little diminution of its honour *; though Romus had the boldneſs to controvert its eſtabliſhed credit. He drew upon himſelf the reſentment of the Sorbonne and of his colleagues, and having undergone a perſecution, was obliged to make a ſubmiſſive confeſſion of his temerity. But his delinquency being ſtill remembered by a ſpecies of men, who never forgot their enmities, he was dragged out of a cell, where he lurked, at the maſſacre of Paris, and cruelly aſſaſſinated. The ſhocking account of his fate ſtruck Lambinus with ſuch terror, that he never recovered from it, and died in a few weeks. In the ſtudy of the civil and common law, a great progreſs was made, and ſeveral laborious commentators on Juſtinian appeared; of which Goveanus and Cujacus were the moſt eminent †. The long life and aſſiduous application of the latter enabled him to outdo the moſt voluminous of his competitors in fame. Mercerus, du Moulins, and Baldouin, had alſo their ſhare of reputation in the ſame ſcience. Several of the counſellors of parliament, diſtinguiſhed for their capacity and literature, have been mentioned; and, beſides other proofs that the knowledge of antient hiſtory and of the antiquities of the Gothic kingdoms was generally cultivated among them, it may be reckoned a remarkable one, that Paſquier, who was only a counſellor, and the king's advocate in the chamber of accounts,

* Paſquier, liv. ix. chap. 18. Thuan. p. 1055. † Ibid p. 758.

 compoſed

Book VI. compoſed a work ſo learned and inſtructive on the ſubject of the hiſtory of his country. Beſides the preſident de Thou, whoſe learning and judgment joined with his manners, were worthy of the beſt ages; Paul des Foix, Anthony, Fumee, and Pibrac, were celebrated for their general erudition and their oratory in various embaſſies. Moſt of the eminent civilians and lawyers, as well as the churchmen, ſhewed themſelves adepts in Latin poetry. In general, among theſe two orders of men, the thirſt for letters and diligent ſtudy prevailed, and to them learning was wholly confined. The nobility diſdained to be its votaries, and few of them counted it worthy of their patronage. While Ariſtotle's phyſics, or natural philoſophy hid the ſyſtem, and prevented all enquiries into the proceſs of nature; diſſertations on his principles of *firſt matter*, *ſubſtantial form*, and *privation*, filled the volumes on this ſcience with jargon. The principles of true philoſophy, deduced from obſervations and experiments, were as little known to the learned as to the vulgar. To the ſtudy of Euclid, and ſome knowledge of the mathematics, that of judicial aſtrology, and of the *occult ſciences*, was joined. Moſt of the princes and nobles had faith in divination by aſtrology; and it was uſual with them to have their horoſcopes drawn. Belief in magic and enchantments prevailed along with this ignorant credulity *; and ſeveral of the hiſtorians of the times intimate their acquieſcence in the vulgar opinion of them. Queen Catherine had not ſuch confidence in her political arts as to believe they could over-rule thoſe of inchantment †. She had a portable *taliſman*, compoſed for her by ſome diviners, which ſhe wore on her ſtomach. The piece of

* Matthieu, p. 375. Brantome de Henry II.

† Addit. aux Caſtelnau, tom. i. liv. i. p. 284.

parchment of which it conſiſted, was ſowed with ſeveral figures and characters, and ſcraps of barbarous words, differently ſhaded. The original itſelf is ſaid to be preſerved among the curioſities of Mr. Vyon, auditor of accounts.

And taſte in the arts and ſciences.

HOWEVER deficient in other literature and arts, every martial age had its poets and ſongs. Without tracing back the original of the French poems to the druids and bards of Germany, or inſiſting on the warlike ſong of *Roland*, which may be derived from them, and was in uſe after the acceſſion of the Capetian family *, it is more proper to obſerve that the ruſtic ſongs and ſatirical dialogues rehearſed by rymers, called *Troubadours* and Fatiſts in the twelfth century, and the inſtitution of a ſpecies of the antient Floralia, by a woman of Thouloufe, 1325, propagated the taſte of poetical ſonnets of various kinds in the nation. The original Troubadours were natives of Provence, and their pieces were known by the name of the Provençal Poems; which were more heroic, and of a ſuperior kind to thoſe of the Fatiſts. From the latter came the chants royaux, or the poetical diſputes for the prizes, the ballads, the rondelles and the paſtorals, which prevailed a long time as the beſt gifts of the muſes, together with the romances that began to be wrote. The reign of Charles V. which was the great epoch of theſe poems, alſo gave riſe to the French drama and theatre. The actors being erected into a company by letters patent, repreſented the myſteries of Chriſt's paſſion; which, with ſome additional pieces, called Moralities, continued to be the theatrical entertainment for more than a hundred and thirty years. Though in the time of Lewis XII. ſome farces or comedies were

* Paſquier, liv. vii. chap. 4. and 5. Le Gendre, p. 67.

Book VI. wrote, the French drama received no ſort of improvement, and continued in the reign of Francis I. under the direction of the *fraternity of the paſſion*, who only added ſome burleſque pieces to their moralities. But Molin de St. Gelais, Clement Marot, and du Bellai, then appeared, who produced madrigals, eclogues, epitaphs, and elogies, that were admired, and whoſe only merit was the ſoftening the harſhneſs of the French verſification. The taſte of ryming * became the univerſal mode, and in imitation of the court, every cavalier wrote madrigals or ſonnets to enliven the ſerenades of his miſtreſs. In the following reign, the poetical band became more numerous by the addition of Bolleau Jodelle, Baif, Ronſard, de Bertas, and others, who being diſtinguiſhed above the reſt, were called the French *Pleiades*. Under Francis II. and Charles IX. their luſtre was complete. Jodelle was the dramatic poet, and produced two tragedies and two comedies. His Cleopatra, together with a comedy, being acted at Paris †, he is ſaid to have been rewarded for this new entertainment by Henry II. with five hundred crowns. But the genius and the reliſh for ſuch compoſitions remained ſuſpended for a conſiderable time after this exhibition of them. Ronſard's poetry engroſſed the whole praiſe of the court, and the admiration of the age. With a genius moulded to its character, he was fertile and copious in his productions of odes, elegies, hymns, and love ſonnets; florid in his ſtyle, and decorated with the moſt ſtriking images and metaphors of the Greek and Roman claſſics, his vein appeared original to people who had only rude productions in their own language to compare with it. Pronounced both the firſt of French poets, and the greateſt that could ariſe; the immortality that his contemporaries

* Paſquier, ibid. chap. 6. and 7.

† Brantome, tom. ii. 58.

promiſed

promiſed him, with the utmoſt aſſurance, proved a finite and no long duration of fame. Book VI.

In general, it may be obſerved, that the knowledge of the claſſics and the admiration of them that prevailed, did not render the ſons of the muſes, or other writers of the age, happy imitators of them. For this excellency, neither the French language itſelf, nor the taſte of the authors, was ſufficiently cultivated. While Ronſard endeavoured to write in the manner of all the antient poets, and * was believed to have ſurpaſſed or equalled the whole, he was ſoon found to be poſſeſſed of the true and improved genius of none of them. Mixed metaphors, and obſcure or extravagant allegories, were adopted as the beſt ornaments of verſe and proſe writing, and of rhetoric. Inſtead of reliſhing the regular compoſition and ſimplicity of the Greek and Roman plays; ſome of which were tranſlated; the romances of the preceding ages, and thoſe which were ſtill wrote, gave the model of all public entertainments; and, tho' the heroes of chivalry were not actually introduced on the ſtage, the various ſhews were generally either an imitation of their feats, or ſome figure of the antient Roman and Grecian ſports, blended together with the Gothic kind. The feſtivals, prepared for moſt of the kings and princes of Europe, in their proceſſions through provinces and great cities, were all of this nature. Thoſe performed in honour of Philip, prince of Spain, when he came into Flanders, are famous for their magnificence †. The queen of Hungary, when ſhe entertained the emperor and his court at Marimont, exhibited the ſiege and defence of a town; and one of the chief incidents was the raviſhing ſome of the principal ladies

* Paſquier, ibid.

† Brantome, ibid.

of

Book VI. of the court; which turned out afterwards to be atchieved by their huſbands in maſque. The jouſts and martial combats were often conducted in maſquerade, and ſuch emblematical pageantry. When the duke of Nemours and the grand prior of France, run at the ring in the time of Francis II. the firſt appeared in the garb of a burgeſs's wife, with her hood and gown of black woolen ſtuff, and her girdle, a large purſe, and a vaſt bunch of keys hanging on each ſide. His ſteed was taught to go at two ſteps and a vault, which improved the chime of the keys. The prior mounted on a barb, was dreſſed like an Egyptian woman, having her head covered with a broad trimmed hat, and a robe and petticoat of velvet, and taffety, well flounced. On his left arm he carried a monkey, ſwadled up like an infant. The maſquerades were frequent at court, and ſoon received their higheſt improvement. Though the beſt painters of Italy were brought into the kingdom by Francis I. they made no diſciples. But ſome architects of reputation were formed under the great encouragement that prince gave to the arts; and, beſides the palace of the Louvre and other ſplendid edifices built in his reign, and ſome that were reared afterwards by Catherine of Medicis, by artizans of the kingdom, the French boaſt that the *Eſcurial* of Madrid was planned and executed under Philip II. by Lewis de Foix, a Pariſian. In muſic the chief advancement was made by Claude Gaudimel, who ſet to various harmony the Pſalms tranſlated by Marot and Beza.

Compared with the Italians, the French were inferior to them in all works of genius and taſte. Like the other nations, they yet had not only no painters, ſculptors, or muſicians, that could be named with thoſe of Italy in the pontificate of Julius II. and Leo X.

but

but their poets were not equal to Petrarche, Boccace or Arioſto; nor any of their hiſtorians to Guicciardin and Machiavel, until Auguſtus de Thou publiſhed his maſterly work. Beſides ſome valuable old authors, ſuch as Froiſſart and Joinville, the beſt hiſtorical pieces wrote in the French language were the Memoirs of Philip de Comines, and of Martin du Bellay. Next to them may be reckoned Pope Liniere and Caſtelnau; the one remarkable for exactneſs and impartiality, and the other for purity of ſtyle, order and perſpicuity. Brantome, without aiming at method or deſign in his Memoirs, is agreeable; and in order to be acquainted with the courts of Francis I. Henry II. and the two ſucceeding princes, and with the manners of the times, his accounts of the illuſtrious characters are uſeful, and alſo afford ſome help in the military hiſtory. The number of commentaries and memoirs wrote in the courſe of the French civil wars, was immenſe; and theſe that remain exceed what are to be found in any other nation. It was not only the contention between the catholic and proteſtant writers that created this multiplicity of them. It became a point of vanity among the military officers, as well as among the ſtateſmen and people of the long robe, to have the campaigns they had made, and the actions in which their valour or conduct was conſpicuous, honoured by an ingenious narrative of them to the world.

THE hiſtory of the finances may be reckoned to commence from the reign of Francis I. * who at his death left the revenues of the crown, advanced to fourteen millions, forty-four thouſand

* Sully, liv. xxv. Recherches des finances.

and

Book VI. and one hundred livres. Under Henry II. the produce of them amounted to upwards of twelve millions. The mark of ſilver was valued at fifteen livres, and that of gold at a hundred and twenty-two. In the civil wars the revenues were diminiſhed. Under Francis II. the produce was about eleven millions. In 1574, the laſt year of Charles IX. they produced only eight millions ſix hundred thouſand livres; the mark of ſilver being ſeventeen livres, and that of gold two hundred.

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FINIS.

ERRATA in Vol. II.

Page 15. line 15. for engaged, read *enraged.*
16. 18. for with, read *in.*
23. 2. for demiturre, read *demilune.*
26. 20. for body, read *booty.*
49. and in other places for Touquierre, read *Fouquiere.*
70. 16. for arret, read *arrets.*
73. 17. for chieftains, read *chieftain.*
82. 5. for continuance, read *concluſion.*
106. 1. for Borromes, read *Borromeo.*
22. for de Lura's, read *de Luna's.*
147. 13. for Seignior, read *Grand Seignior.*
163. 12. for extenſion, read *exertion.*
165. 20. for appeared, read *appears.*
197. 17. and in other places, for Bruquemaut, read *Briquemaut.*
209. 18. for Remours, read *Nemours.*
221. 10. dele *provided.*
224. 3. for diſcompoſure, read *diſcomfiture.*

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